Toleration
DISCUSS'D;
IN TWO
DIALOGUES.

I. Betwixt a **Conformist**, and a **Non-Conformist**; Laying open the *Impiety*, and *Danger* of a **General Liberty**.

II. Betwixt a **Presbyterian**, and an **Independent**; Concluding, upon an *Impartial Examination* of their Respective *Practises*, and *Opinions*, in Favour of the **Independent**.

Væ vobis, Hypocritæ!

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Tr. R.
L 64 37

TO THE READER.

The CONTENTS.

SECTION I.
UNIVERSAL TOLERATION *too Wide, and Unlawful.* Page 3
SECT. II.
LIMITED TOLERATION *too Narrow, and Disobliging to the Excluded Party.* 15
SECT. III.
No Toleration to be admitted, but with the Allowance *of the Chief Magistrate.* 18
SECT. IV.
The BOUNDS *of Toleration. And the Error of making* Fundamentals *and* Non Fundamentals *to be the Measure of it.* 23
SECT. V.
The Common Arguments for TOLERATION, *Examined.* 29

602185

SECT. VI.

TOLERATION *undermines the* Law, *and causes* Confusion *both in* Church, *and* State. Page 36

SECT. VII.

The Non-Conformist's Plea for Toleration, upon REASON OF STATE. 43

SECT. VIII.

The Non-Conformist's Plea for Toleration, from the MERITS *of the Party.* 52

SECT. IX.

The Non-Conformist's Plea for Toleration, from the Innocence, *and* Modesty *of their* OPINIONS *and* PRACTISES. 56

SECT. X.

The Non-Conformists *demand a* Toleration, *which is neither* INTELLIGIBLE *in the* Whole, *nor* PRACTICABLE *so far as it may be* Understood. 78

SECT. XI.

The Non-Conformists *demand a* Toleration, *for No Body knows* WHOM, *or* WHAT. 84

SECT. XII.

The Conjunct Importunity *of the* Non-Conformists *for a* Toleration, *is not grounded upon Matter of* CONSCIENCE. 87

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

The Conjunct Importunity *of the* Non-Conformists *for a* Toleration, *is a Manifest* CONFEDERACY. 96

SECT. XIV.

The Non-Conformists Joynt-Pretenses FOR *A* Toleration, *overthrown, by the Evidence of their* Joynt-Arguments, Professions, *and* Practises AGAINST *it.* 114

SECT. XV.

The Non-Conformists JOYNT COMPLAINTS *of* Hard Measure, *and* Persecution, *confronted with their own* JOYNT-PROCEEDINGS. 120

SECT. XVI.

The Non-Conformists *tell us, That* Liberty of Conscience *is the* Common Interest *of* This Kingdom; *but* REASON *and* EXPERIENCE *tell us the* CONTRARY. 128

SECT. XVII.

This Kingdom *has been still the* Worse *for Indulging the* Non-Conformists, *and the* Party *never the* Better. *Which evinces, that* UNIFORMITY *is the* True Interest *of* This Government, *and Not* Toleration. 148

SECT. XVIII.

The Party *of* Scrupulous, *and* Conscientious

ous Non-Conformists, *is neither* NUMEROUS, *nor* DANGEROUS. Pag. 167

SECT. XIX.

The Non-Conformists Appeal, *from the* Government, *and* Discipline *of the* Church *of* England, *to the* Judgment, *and* Practise *of the* Reformed Churches BEYOND THE SEAS; Examined, *and* Submitted *to* Censure. 172

SECT. XX.

The Non-Confotmists Exceptions *to Our* Publique Way *of* Worship, *found Guilty of Great* IMPIETY, *and* ERROR. 194

SECT. XXI.

Whatsoever God hath left INDIFFERENT, *is the* Subject *of* HUMANE POWER. 217

SECT. XXII.

No End of Controversie, *without a* FINAL *and* UNACCOMPTABLE JUDGE, *from whose* Sentence *there shall be no* Appeal. 226

SECT. XXIII.

The Three Great Judges *of* Mankind, *are* GOD, MAGISTRATES, *and* CONSCIENCE. 238

SECT. XXIV.

The Church of England *charges the* Non-Conformists *with* SCHISM, *and the* Non-

To the Reader.

Non-Conformists *charge those of the* Church *with* SCANDAL. *The Matter is taken into* Debate. Page 256

Toleration Discuss'd, betwixt a *Presbyterian*, and an *Independent*.

SECT. XXV.

An Enquiry, *upon a Short, and Impartial* Survey *of the* Rise, Progress, *and* Issue *of the* War, *raised by the* Two Houses *in* 1641. *Whether were more* Criminal, *The* PRESBYTERIANS, *or the* INDEPENDENTS. 271

SECT. XXVI.

What Party *soever* DEMANDS *a* Toleration, *and yet* Maintains, *that it is* Destructive *both of* Church, *and* State, *to* GRANT *one, Is an* ENEMY *to* BOTH. 292

SECT. XXVII.

In Case of a Toleration, *or* Indulgence *to be* Granted, *Whether has the fairer* Pretense *to it*; *The* CLASSICAL Way *of the* PRESBYTERIANS, *or the* CONGREGATIONAL Way *of the* IN-

To the Reader.

INDEPENDENTS; *in Respect of their* Form *of* Government? Page 298

SECT. XXVIII.

Whether may be better Tolerated in This Kingdom, The Presbyterians, *or the* Independents; *in Respect of their* PRINCIPLES, *and* Ordinary PROCEEDINGS?

Debated, First, *With Relation to his* Majesties PERSON, *and* AUTHORITY. 306

SECT. XXIX.

The Question of Toleration, *betwixt* Presbytery, *and* Independency; *Debated, with regard to the* Foundation, *and* Execution *of the* LAW. 318

SECT. XXX.

The Question of Toleration, *betwixt* Presbytery, *and* Independency, Debated, *with a Regard to the* Rights, Liberties, *and* Advantages *of the* PEOPLE. 327

Tole-

Toleration Diſcuſs'd,

By way of Dialogue betwixt a

CONFORMIST,

AND A

NON-CONFORMIST.

Conformiſt. *Liberty of Conſcience*, or, *No Liberty of Conſcience*, is the Queſtion. What is *Conſcience*?

Non-conformiſt. Conſcience is (a) *Judicium Hominis de Semetipſo, prout ſubjicitur Judicio Dei.* (b) The Judgment that a Man makes of Himſelf and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God. Or otherwiſe, (c) It is An Ability in the Underſtanding of Man, by a Reflex Act to Judge of Himſelf in all he does, as to his Acceptance, or Rejection with God. *Rutherford* makes it to be (d) A Power of the Practical Underſtanding, according to which the Man is obliged and directed to give Judgment of Himſelf; that is, Of His State and Condition, and of all his Actions,

(a) Amefius de Conſci.
(b) Indulg. & Toler. p. 13.
(c) Liberty of Conſcience upon its true and proper Grounds, p. 3.
(d) Free Diſputation, p. 3.

ons, Inclinations, Thoughts, and Words.

C. If this be *Conscience*, Then *Liberty of Conscience* is *A Liberty of a Man's Judging of Himself, and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God.*

N. C. **Right: But then he is bound likewise to** Practise **according to that** Judgment, **and** To Worship God according to the Light and Understanding which he hath, of What is that Worship which is Acceptable with him, in **Matter** and **Manner**, and not otherwise.

Indulg. & Toler, p. 13.

C. So that your *Liberty of Conscience* is now come to *Liberty of Practise*. Indeed I could wish that the Advocates for *Liberty* would be a little more Candid in this business. They take wonderful Pains (many of Them) to prove, That *Conscience cannot be forc'd*; *It is out of the Reach of Humane Power*; *God never appointed any Judge of it*; *Shall any Man pretend to make me believe, That which I cannot believe*? (And the like) Pressing the Argument, as if That were the very Pinch of the Case, which is just Nothing at all to the Point in Controversie. It is obvious to Common Reason, that This Suggestion cannot but create very dangerous and unquiet Thoughts in the People: For if they be denied *Liberty of Conscience* (in

(in the plain and honest *English* of it) They suffer under the most Barbarous, and Ridiculous Persecution, that ever yet appear'd upon the face of the Earth. But on the other side, If their claim be stretch't to *Liberty of Practise*, It seems not only unreasonable, but utterly Inconsistent, both with *Christianity* it self, and *the Publique Peace*.

SECTION I.

UNIVERSAL TOLERATION too Wide, and Unlawful.

C. *Liberty of Conscience* (as you have stated it) is *An Universal Toleration* for People to *say* and *do* what they please, under the Warrant and Pretext of *Conscience*.

N. C. **That is to say, In Matters properly the Subject of Conscience**, with Reference to the future Judgment of God.

C. By This Rule, *Pagans* are to be tolerated as well as *Christians*: For *They* have *Consciences* as well as *We*: They are convinc'd, that there is a God; and that

That God ought to be Worship't; and may plead for the same Freedom, in the way and manner of their Proceeding.

N. C. **But** Paganism **is not within the Pale of the Question.**

C. Why then, no more is *Conscience.* If you say, They are in the *Wrong*, and so debar them the Exercise of their Opinion, because of the *Error* of it, your Exception lies to the *Error*, not to the *Conscience*; and may be turn'd upon your selves: For They say as much of You; and have as much right to condemn You, as You Them: Neither have you any more Right to be Judges in your own Case, then they in theirs.

N. C. **Well, but we have a Law to Judge our selves by.**

C. And so have They too: For, *They* Rom. 2. 14. *without a Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law, and are a Law unto Themselves.*

N. C. **But how can that Law have any Regard to** the future Judgment of God, **when they deny the Immortality of the Soul?**

C. There is *a future Judgment of God* in This Life, as well as in the next: And the Conscience that hath no Light at all of another World, is not yet without Appre-

Apprehensions of Divine Vengeance in This. *Raro Antecedentem Scelestum deseruit pede pœna claudo.* You'l be as much to seek now, if you restrain your Argument to *Christianity*; for you must either prove, That there are no *Erroneous Consciences* among *Christians*; or, That *Error* of Conscience is no *Sin*; or else, That *Sin* may be *Tolerated*.

N. C. **There is no doubt but there are** Erroneous Consciences; **and it is as clear that** Sin **is not to be** Tolerated: **But I do not take every** Error **of Conscience to be a** Sin (**understand me of** Consciences **labouring under an** Invincible Ignorance.)

C. It is very true, That as to the *Formality of Sin*, which is *the Obliquity of the Will*, An *Error* of *Conscience* under an *Invincible Ignorance* is no *Sin*: But *Sin Materially* considered, is *the Transgression of the Divine Law*; and *Conscience* it self becomes *Sinful*, when it dictates against *That Law*.

N. C. **Can there be any** Sin **without** Assent; **or any** Assent **without** Knowledge; **or any** Knowledge **in a Case of** Invincible Ignorance? **The** Transgression **of the Law implies the** Knowledg **of it, or at least the** Possibility **of** Knowing **it**;

without **which**, it has not the Nature of a Law, as to me. [**The Conditions requiſite to a Rule are Theſe: It muſt be** Certain; **and it muſt be** Known. **If it be not** Certain, **it is no** Rule; **If it be not** Known, **it is no Rule to** Us.]

Laud against *Fiſher*, P. 197.

Rom. 7. 7. I had not known Sin, but by the Law (**ſays the Text**) **And in another Place,**

Rom. 4. 15. Where there is no Law, There is no Tranſgreſſion. **From whence the Deduction is clear, That** Sin **is not barely** the Tranſgreſſion of a Law, **but** the Tranſgreſſion of a Known Law; **the Inconformity of the Will to the Underſtanding.**

C. The *Perverſneſs* of the *Will* being a *Sin*, does not hinder the *Enormity* of the *Judgment* to be ſo too. [*Until the Law,*

Rom. 5. 13. *Sin was in the World; but Sin is not imputed, when there is no Law.*] In few words, The *Word* of *God* is the *Rule* of *Truth*, and all Diſproportion to that *Rule* is *Error*: God's Revealed *Will* is the Meaſure of *Righteouſneſs*; and all *Diſproportion* to that *Meaſure* is *Sin*. Now the Queſtion is not, Whether *imputed* or *no*; but, Whether a *Sin*, or *No*: And you cannot make *Error of Conſcience* to be *No Sin*, without making *the Word of God* to be *No Rule*.

N. C. I do not deny, but it is a Sin as to the Law; but it is none as to the Person; It is none Constructively, with him that accepts the Will for the Deed.

C. Can you imagine that any Condition in the *Delinquent* can operate upon the Force and Equity of the *Law*? Because *God spares the Offender*, shall *Man* therefore *tolerate the Offence*? *David* was pronounced *a Man after God's own Heart*; shall Authority therefore grant a License to *Murder* and *Adultery*?

N. C. What is David's Case to ours? You instance in Sins of Presumption, and the Question is touching Sins of Ignorance.

C. I was a Blasphemer, a Persecutor, and Injurious (says St. *Paul*) *but I obtain'd* Mercy (he does not say APPROBATION) *because I did it in* Ignorance *and* Unbeleif. 1 Tim. 1. 13. Again, The *Magistrate* has a *Conscience*, as well as the *Subject*. It may be *Ignorance* in him that *Commits* the Sin, and yet *Presumption* in him that *Suffers* it. Briefly, in pleading for *all Opinions*, you plead for *all Heresies*, and for the Establishment of Wickedness by a Law. What Swarms of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, *Anti-Scripturists*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Enthusi-*

asts (and what Not?) have started up even in our days, under the Protection of *Liberty of Conscience*? What Blasphemous and Desperate Opinions, to the Subversion both of Faith and Government! Where's the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Reverence of Religion, when every Man shall make a Bible of his Conscience, divide the Holy Ghost against it self, and dash one Text upon another? He that has a mind to rake further in this Puddle, let him read *Edwards* his *Gangrena*, *Bayly's Dissuasive*, *Paget's Heresiography*, *&c.*

To pass now from *Opinions*, to *Practices*. The Liberty you challenge, opens a door to all sorts of Villany and Outrage imaginable; to Rapine, Murder, Rebellion, King-killing.

Indulg. & Toler. p. 13, 14.

N. C. As if any Man that has a Conscience of his own, or knows what Conscience is, could give Entertainment to so fond an Imagination, as to suppose, that God at the last day will approve of Murders, Seditions, and the like Evils: Since what is Evil in it self, and against the Light of Nature, there is no direction unto it, no approbation of it from Conscience in the least.

C. But what will this amount to? when

when, firſt, Every Man's Word ſhall be taken for his own *Conſcience*: And ſecondly, That Conſcience pleaded in defence of his *Actions*. That which you ſtile *Murther*, and *Sedition*, He'll tell you is only a *Goſpel-Reformation*, *The Deſtroying of the Hittites and the Amorites, &c.* So that you are never the better for tying a Man up to the Light of Nature in his *Actions*, if you leave him at Liberty in his *Creed*: For there is not that Impiety in the World, but he'll give you a Text for it. The Adverſaries of God, that refuſe to enter into *a holy Covenant with the Lord*, and ſubmit themſelves to *Chriſt's Scepter*, may be *Sequeſtred* and *Plundered*, without the Imputation of *Rapine*; for it is written, *The Meek ſhall inherit the Earth*: And it is no more then God's People the *Iſraelites* did to the *Egyptians*. Nay, if they be *Refractary*, they may be put to *Death* too, without *Murder*. [*Thoſe mine Enemies, which would not that I ſhould Reign over them, bring hither, and ſlay them before me.*] If any Man has a ſpight at the Church, it is but calling it *Antichriſtian*, and Mr. *Caſe* ſhall give him a Commiſſion to *take this Agag, and Hew it in pieces before the Lord.* Taking up *Arms* againſt the *Government*, is

Mat. 5. 5.

Luke 19. 27.

* In his Book of the Covenant.

is *helping the Lord against the Mighty.* And *King-killing* it self, is justified by the Example of *Ehud* to *Eglon.*

N. C. **But do you believe any Man so mad, as to take these Extravagances for Impulses of** Conscience?

C. Or rather, Is not he madder that doubts it? Considering the Evidences we have both from Story and Experience, and the very Authority of Scripture it self, in favour of believing it. Does not our Saviour foretell us of *False Christs*, and *False Prophets, that shall arise and deceive many; yea, if it were possible, the very Elect?* Parties are engag'd in all sorts of Abomination, under the Masque of *Conscience.* Those of the *League* in *Flanders*, 1503. under *Maximilian*, bound themselves by Oath, to cast off the Yoke of Government, and to kill and slay all Opposers; but with such regard to *Religion* (I warrant ye) that every Member of that Confederacy was to say five *Ave Maryes* and *Pater Nosters* daily, For a Blessing upon the Undertaking. The *Holy League* at *Peronne*, under *Henry* the Third of *France*, was for *the Glory of God* too, and *the Preservation of the King*: What Horrible Effects it produced, I need not tell you. *Sleydan* reckons upon *Fifty Thou-*

Mat. 24.

sand

sand slain in one Summer, in the Boores Rebellion in *Germany*, 1525. And charges the Tumult upon *Seditious Preachers*, whereof *Muncer* was chief. I shall not need to mind you of the Damned Villanies that were acted by *Muncer*, *Phifer*, (*Beould*, or) *John of Leyden*, *Rottman*, *Knipperdolling*, *Kippenbroke*, *John Matthias*, and the rest of that Gang, under the Imposture of *Inspiration*, and *Conscience*: Their Sacking and Burning of Towns, Rapes, and Massacres: And all this under the pretense of *God's Command, and the Direction of his Holy Spirit*. Nay, so strongly was the deluded Multitude possest with the Doctrine and Ways of their False Prophets, that the *Munceri-ans*, upon the Charge of the *Landtzgrave of Hesse*, stood stone still, without striking a Blow; calling upon the *Holy Ghost* to their Succour (as *Muncer* had promised them) till they were all Routed and Cut off. Sleydan's Comment. l. 4.

Was it not a *Holy Father*, and the *Prior* of the *Convent* (one of the Heads of the *League*) that confirm'd *Clement* in his purpose of Murthering *Harry* the *Third* of *France*? For his Encouragement, they assur'd him, That *if he outliv'd the Fact, he should be a Cardinal*; *If he* Davila delle Guer. Civ. di Fran. l. 10.

he dy'd, a Saint. What was it again that originally disposed this Monster to
Ibid. that cursed Act? *Stimolato dalle Predicationi, che giournallmente sentiva fare contra* Henrico di Valois, *nominato il persecutore della Fede, & il Tyranno.* Seditious Sermons against the King, as a Persecutor of the Faith, and a Tyrant. See in the same Author, the Confession of *John Castle*, concerning his Attempt upon
Lib. 14. *Harry* the *Great. He had been brought up in the* Jesuites School, *and Instructed, That it was not only Lawful, but Meritorious, to destroy* Harry of Bourbon, *That* Revolted Heretique, *and* Persecutor *of the Holy Church.* [*Esaminato con le solite Forme, confesso liberamente, &c.*] What was it that Animated *Ravillac* to his Hellish Practise upon that Brave Prince? but (by his own Confession) A Discourse of *Mariana's, De Rege, & Regis Institutione.* It was a *Divine Instinct* too, that mov'd *Balthasar Gerard* to Murther the Prince
Strada de Bello Belgico, l. 5. of *Aurange.* [*Divino tantùm Instinctu, id à se patratum constanter affirmabat, diu Tortus.*] To conclude now with That fresh and execrable Instance here at Home, upon the Person of *the Late King*: It was the *Pulpit* that started the Quarrel; The *Pulpit* that Enflam'd it; The *Pulpit* that

that Christen'd it *God's Cause*; The *Pulpit* that conjur'd the People into a *Covenant* to defend it; The *Pulpit* that blasted the King, that pursu'd him, that prest the putting of Him to Death; and the *Pulpit* that applauded it when it was done. And how was all this effected? (I beseech ye) but by Imposing upon the weak and inconsiderate Multitude, *Errors* for *Truths*; by perverting of *Scriptures*; and by These Arts, moulding the *Passions* and the *Consciences* of the People to the Interest of a Tumultuary Design. These are the Fruits of the *Toleration* you demand. Reflect soberly upon what has been said; and Tell me, Do you think such a *Toleration* either fit for *You* to *Ask*, or for *Authority* to *Grant*?

N. C. **The Truth is, In this Latitude there may be great Inconveniences: And yet methinks, 'tis Pitty (in Cases of some Honest Mistakes) that a** Good **Man should be punished for not being a** Wise **Man.**

C. And were it not a greater Pitty, do ye think, for a State to keep no Check upon *Crafty Knaves*, for fear of disobliging some *Well-meaning Fools*? As to the Sparing of the *Man*, I wish it could be done, even where it were Impious to give

give Quarter to the *Opinion*: But how shall we separate the *Errour* from the *Person*, so as to make a *General Law* take notice of it? It were *Irreligious* to Tolerate Both, and it seems to me *Impossible* to *sever* them. If you your self now can either prove the *former* to be *Lawful* (that is, *to do Evil, that Good may come of it*) or the *latter* to be *Practicable*, I'le agree with you for a *General Toleration*: If not, I hope you'l joyn with me against it.

Liberty of Consc. upon its true and proper Grounds, p. 13.

N. C. I am not for a Toleration (as I told you) against the Light of Nature; nor would I have any Pretense of Conscience admitted, that leads to the Destruction of the Magistrate, and the Disturbance of the Government.

C. That is to say, You will content Your self with *a Limited Toleration*: which, I fear, upon the Debate, will prove as much too *narrow* for you, as the Other was too *wide*.

SECT.

SECT. II.

LIMITED TOLERATION too Narrow, and Disobliging to the Excluded Party.

C. BY a *Limited Toleration* we may understand *A Legal Grant of Freedom and Immunity, in Matters of Religion, to Persons of such and such Persuasions, and to no Others.*

N. C. **Oh, if you please,** An Exemption from the Lash of the Act of Uniformity.

C. You say something, if This would do the Work. But to dissolve a Solemn Law, for the Satisfaction of Some Particulars, and at last leave the People worse then we found them, were certainly a gross Oversight. However, what's your Quarrel to it?

N. C. **I think it a great Cruelty to confine a multitude of** differing Judgments **to the** same Rule, **and to punish a Conscientious People for those Disagreements, which they can neither avoid, nor relinquish.**

C. Why will you Practise that Cruelty your

your selves then, which you condemn in others? For *Limited Toleration*, is an Act of *Uniformity* to those that are *excluded*. They that are within the Comprehension, will be well enough: But what will become of them that are left out? who have *Consciences* as well as their Fellows, and as good a Title to an Indulgence, as those that are taken in. Upon a fair View of the Matter, you can neither admit *All*, without Offence to your *Conscience*; nor leave out *Any*, without a *Cheque* to your *Argument*.

N. C. **And yet I am perswaded a** Limited Toleration **would give Abundant Satisfaction.**

C. Suppose you had it, and your self One of the *Rejected Party*: Are not you as well now, without any *Toleration* at all, as you would be then, without receiving any *Benefit* by it?

N. C. **To deal freely, I would not willingly be excluded.**

C. And is not That every Man's Case, as well as yours? *A Limited Toleration* must Exclude *Some*, and why not *You*, as well as *Another*? Or indeed, Why should not *All* be *Tolerated*, as well as *Any*? They can no more abandon their Opinions, then you Yours: And *Your Ways* are

are juſt the ſame Grievances to *Them*, which (if You may be credited) *Ours* are to *You*. So that moſt undeniably, the Plea of the *Nonconformiſts* upon the Point of *Conſcience*, is all alike: And ſince None of them have more Right to an Indulgence, One then Another, Why ſhould any Party of them expect more *Favour*; to the Excluſion and Diſobligation of the Reſt?

N. C. **But are not Some** Opinions **more tolerable then Others? Do you put no Difference betwixt** Truth **and** Errour? **Betwixt Points** Fundamental **and** Non-Fundamental? **Betwixt the very** Baſis **of** Chriſtianity, **and the** Superſtructure? **In fine, Betwixt ſuch Principles as affect** Order **and** Publique Agreement, **and others that flow Naturally into** Looſneſs **and** Confuſion?

C. Without Diſpute, Some Opinions and Principles are more allowable then Others: But where lieth the Right of *Allowing*, or *Rejecting*? Let This be firſt examined, and then we'l adviſe upon the *Opinions*, and *Principles* themſelves, what may be allow'd, and what Not.

SECT. III.

No Toleration to be admitted but with the Allowance of the Chief Magistrate.

C. WE are agreed, first, That *an Universal Toleration* (implying a License to all sorts of Wickedness) is not upon any terms to be admitted. Secondly, That a *Limited Toleration* (being a Grant of Favour to Some, and Exclusive of Others) must needs lay a Disobligation upon the Excluded Party. The next Point will be, Where to place the Power of Permitting, or Refusing; and from thence we shall pass to an Inquiry into the *Bounds* and *Limits* of such a *Toleration* as may be warrantable: Which being once settled, we are to see how far the Pretenses and Qualifications of the Parties concern'd will suit with those Measures.

Disc. of Relig. Preface.

N. C. **Grant us but** an Indulgence to Dissenters of Sound Faith, and Good Life; **We ask no more. Let Nothing be imposed upon us that is grievous to** our Consciences **on the One Hand, and We**

We ſhall never deſire a Toleration **of any thing that is juſtly Offenſive to** Church **or** State **on the Other.**

C. But What if the Diſſenters ſhall call that *Sound Doctrine*, which the Church defines *Hereſie?* What if the Subject ſhall account That Impoſition *grievous*, which the Magiſtrate thinks *Neceſſary?* Or, That Liberty *Conſcienctous*, which the Governour eſteems *Unlawful?* Who ſhall over-rule? If the *Subject*, it follows then, That the *Magiſtrate* is obliged to *Toler.te* whatſoever the *Subject* ſhall judge Himſelf obliged to *do*: And this carries us back into a *General Toleration*. If the *Magiſtrate* over-rule, your Plea of *Conſcience* is out of Doors: And it is at his Choice, What ſorts of Diſſenters to Indulge; and, Whether Any, or None, at his Pleaſure.

N. C. **The World, you know, is as much divided about the** Power **of the** Civil Magiſtrate **in matters of** Religion, **as about any other part (perchance) of our Debate.**

C. We ſhall diſcourſe That more at large elſewhere. But however, as to this Particular, let us come to a preſent Settlement, that we may clear our way as we go. If you make the *People* Judges

of what is fit to be *Tolerated*, *Firſt*, (as I ſaid before) You are upon the Old Rock of *Univerſal Toleration*; for (right or wrong) every Man will ſtick to the freedom of his own way. *Secondly*, You lay the Foundation of a Quarrel never to be reconciled. You ſhall have as many *Factions*, as *Men*; As many *Religions*, as *Fancies*; and every *Diſſenter* ſhall be both a *Party*, and a *Judge*. To imagine an Agreement betwixt the *Magiſtrate* and the *Multitude*, by the Common Conſent of Both; were to ſuppoſe an Accommodation betwixt Heaven and Hell, betwixt Light and Darkneſs; which are every jot as Capable of it, as ſeveral of the Differences now before us. And for an Umpire in the Caſe, you can pretend to None.

N.C. Pardon me: We have the Word of God to repair to, in what concerns Sound Faith; and the Light of Nature for our Guide, in the Duties of Good Life.

C. This is to make that which was the *Ground* of the *firſt Controverſie*, the *Umpire* of the *Second*. For what is the Original of all our Grand Diſagreements, but (as St. *Auguſtine* has it) *Bonæ Scripturæ male intellectæ*; Good Scriptures ill underſtood?

derſtood? And we are never the nearer an Accord for the Reading of Them, without another Moderator to ſet us right in the meaning of Them. Neither is *the Light of Nature* any more Exempt from falſe Gloſſes and Miſconſtructions, then the *Bible*. Upon the whole matter, you ſee the Abſurdities and Inconveniences that follow upon placing the Judgment and Direction of Ordering theſe Matters of Difference, any where elſe then in the *Magiſtrate*: Whoſe Duty and Intereſt it is, both as a *Chriſtian* and as a *Ruler*, to put an end to theſe Impious Contentions, by ſuch Rules and Eſtabliſhments as may ſecure the Foundations both of *Religion* and *Government*.

N C. **This would do well, if Men were agreed upon thoſe Rules: But ſeveral Men, we ſee, have Various Apprehenſions of the ſelf ſame thing; And That which One Man takes for a** Rule, **another counts an** Error.

C. You are at your *Univerſal Toleration* again: But pray mark the Conſequences of this way of Reaſoning: Becauſe the *Multitude* cannot agree upon a *Rule*, there ſhall be *None* at all. Purſue this Argument, and there ſhall be no *Law*, No *Religion*, No *Scripture*, No *Truth*,

left in the World. Because Men differ, Which is the *true Religion*. They disagree about the *Doctrine* of the Bible. That which is *Truth* to *One* Man, is *Heresie* to *another*. And never was there any Law that pleased all People.

Authority says, *Worship Thus*, or *So*: The *Libertine* cries, *No*, *'Tis a Confinement of the Spirit*; *An Invention of Man*; *A making of That Necessary which God left Free*; *A Scandal to Tender Consciences*, *&c.* And here is Authority concluded as to the *Manner* of Worship.

So for the *Time*. *How do they know when Christ was Born*, *Crucified*, *or Raised from the Dead*. The Churches *Fasting-days* They make their *Jubile's*. *Videas hodie Quosdam* (says *Calvin*) *quibus sua Libertas non videtur Consistere*, *nisi per Esum Carnium die Veneris in ejus Possessionem venerint*. We have many Now adays, that would look upon their Liberty as good as forfeited, if they should not maintain their Title to it, by Eating Flesh on Fasting-days.

Institut. de Libertate Christiana.

'Tis the same thing as to the *Place*. Command them to *Church*, They will tell you, *There is no Inherent Holiness in the Walls*: *The Hearts of the Saints are the*

the Temples of the Lord: Is not God to be found in a Parlour, as well as in a Steeple-houſe? Finally, What have they to ſay for all This, But that This is One Man's Judgment, That Another's? This or That may be indifferent to you, but not to me. To conclude, What One Man urges, All may; and in All Caſes, as well as in Any: Which has brought us once again to an *indeterminable Liberty*; The laſt Reſort of all the Champions of your Cauſe, if they be followed home. Now if you can aſſign any other Arbitrator of this Matter then the Civil Power, do it: If you cannot, let us proceed.

N. C. **Go forward then.**

SECT. IV.

The BOUNDS of Toleration. And the Error of making Fundamentals *and* Non-Fundamentals *to be the Meaſure of it.*

C. IN *the Queſtion of Toleration* (ſays a Learned Prelate) *the Foundation of* Faith, Good Life, *and* Government *is to be ſecured*: Wherein is compriſed a Proviſion and Care, that we may live as

Christians toward God, As *Members of a Community* toward one another, and as *Loyal Subjects* toward our Sovereign. If you'l take This for the Standard of your *Toleration*, we have no more to do, but to apply Matters in Controversie to the Rules of *Christianity*, *Good Manners*, and *Government*; and to entertein or reject all Pretensions, thereafter as we find them Agreeable, or Repugnant, to *Religion*, *Morality*, and *Society*.

N. C. **Very well Stated truly, I think.**

C. All the Danger is, the falling to pieces again, when we come to bring This and That to the Test. For if we differ at last upon the Application of Particular Points, and Actions, to the General Heads of *Faith*, and *Government* already laid down and agreed upon, We shall yet lose our selves in Uncertainty, and Confusion.

N. C. **There will be no fear of That, if we tye up our selves to** Fundamentals.

C. What do you mean by *Fundamentals*?

N. C. **There are** Fundamentals **of** Faith, **that bind Us as we are** Christians; **And there are** Fundamentals **of** Practice,

Practice, that oblige us as we are Members of a Community. From Theſe Fundamentals there lies no Appeal to Conſcience. In other Matters (which we look upon as Non-Fundamental) we think it reaſonable to Deſire a Toleration.

C. This Diſtinction has a fair Appearance; but there is no truſting to it. Firſt, it propoſes a thing neither *Practicable*, nor *Reaſonable*; which is, The Uniting of all People under one Common Bond of *Fundamentals*. What poſſibility is there of attaining ſuch an Agreement, among ſo many Inſuperable Diverſities of Judgment, as reign in Mankind? Inſomuch, that what is a *Fundamental Truth* to *One*, is a *Fundamental Error* to *Another*; and Every Man is ready to abide the Faggot for his own Opinion. It is alſo very *unreaſonable* to exact it. God Almighty does not require the *ſame Fundamentals* from all Men alike; But *Much from Him to whom Much is given*, and *Little from Him, to whom Little*: And from All, according to their differing Degrees, and Meaſures, of Grace, and Knowledg. You will likewiſe find your ſelf under great *Uncertainty* about the Stating of your *Fundamentals*: For divers *Circumſtances*,

of

of Little, or No value in Themſelves, become *Fundamental* in reſpect of their *Conſequences*. As for Inſtance; That *Chriſt died for Sinners*, I preſume ſhall be one Article of your *Faith*: But whether upon *Mount Calvary*, or ſome other part of the Neighbourhood, ſeems of no great Moment, as to the Main of Our Salvation. And yet he that denies, that Our Saviour ſuffer'd upon *Mount Calvary*, puts as great an Affront upon the *Veracity* of the *Holy Ghoſt* in the Goſpel, as He which denies that he ſuffer'd upon the *Croſs*.

N. C. **I give it for Granted, that** from ſome, more is required; from others, leſs: **In proportion to their Differing Gifts and Graces. But then there are ſome Principles, ſo** Eſſential **to** Chriſtianity, **and ſo** clear **in** Themſelves, **as to admit of no Diſpute.**

C. Saving That *Grand Foundation* of
1 Joh. 4. 3. Our *Faith*, that *Jeſus Chriſt is come in*
15. *the Fleſh*; and that *Whoſoever confeſſes, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, God dwelleth in Him, and He in God.* (Saving (I ſay) That Radical Principle, which if we disbelieve, we are no longer *Chriſtians*) There is ſcarce One Point that has not been ſubjected to a Controverſie. If you

you reduce your *Fundamentals* to This Scantling, Your *Creed* will lie in a very Narrow Compass: But your *Toleration* will be Large Enough, if you are at Liberty for the rest. Touching the *Clearness* of them, I do not comprehend it: For *Supernatural Truths* hold no Proportion at all with the Ordinary Motions of *Humane Reason*. If They be so clear, Tell us, What they are; Where we shall look for them; and How we shall know them when we have found them.

N C. **Where should we look for the** Foundation **of our** Faith, **but in the** New-Testament **of** Jesus Christ?

C. But still we do not all read the Bible with the same Spectacles. To draw to an Issue; *Generals* conclude nothing, so long as we are left at Freedom to wrangle about *Particulars*; and you will find much surer footing upon the *Foundations* of *Establish'd Law*, then upon the Whimseys of *Popular Speculation*. To my thinking, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, as it is settled by *Acts of Parliament*, with other Legal Constitutions, for the Peace, and Order of the Government, are every whit as competent a Provision for the Good of the Publique, as your new *Fundamentals*.

N C. The

N. C. **The Point is not (as you seem to understand it) a Competition between Our** Fundamentals **of** Notion, **and Yours of** Law: **But an Inquiry concerning the Limits of a Justifiable** Toleration.

C. Very Good: And you refer us to your Distinction of *Fundamentals* and *Non-Fundamentals*, as to a Rule, how far we are at Liberty, and wherein we are Bounded. But This will not do the work; and I have spent the more words about it, because I find This Distinction the Ordinary Retreat of Your Party. The Truth of it is, there's not One of a Hundred of you, but takes This Question by the wrong Handle. You make it a Question of *Conscience*, and *Religion*, What *may* be *Tolerated*, and what *not*: Whereas the thing falls properly under a Consideration of *State*. In Matters not to be *Tolerated* (as in *Articles of Religion*) The Magistrate is positively *bound up*; In other Cases, He may chuse, whether he will *Tolerate*, or *Restrain*; That is to say, with a perpetual Regard to the Quiet, and Security of the Publique. Where *Particulars* may be relieved, without Inconvenience to *Communities*, it is well: But otherwise, *Private Consciences* weigh

weigh little in the Scale against *Political Societies*: And *Toleration* is only so far allowable, as it complies with the Necessities, and Ends of *Government*.

N. C. **That is to say (according to your first Resolution)** The Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be secured: **Wherein I am content to close with you; though there are some, that believe the Right of** Toleration **may be defended without any Restrictions.**

C. For Discourse sake, pray try, what you can make on't, either with, or without.

SECT. V.

The Common Arguments for TOLERATION, *Examined.*

N. C. NO *Man under the Gospel ought to be compell'd to believe any thing; and if not to believe, then not to practise.* Lib. of Consc. P. 37.

C. Rutherford says well to this Point: That *the Magistrate is not to force Men* Positively *to* External Worship; *but* Negatively,

gatively, *to punish Acts of* False Worship, *and* Omissions *of* External Performances *of* Worship, *as of Ill Example to Others*: *Not* Commanding Outward Performances, *as Service to God*; *but* forbidding Omissions *of them, as Destructive to Man.*

Lib. of Consc. p. 38. *N. C. It is a strange Absurdity to force Men, against their own Light, to be guided by Others, unless we are sure, we cannot mistake.*

C. But were it not a stranger Absurdity, to leave every Man at Liberty to set up a New Light of his own; and then to subject the United Light of the Nation (which is the *Law*) to the Scatter'd Lights of Private Persons?

N. C. **But does not One Man see that sometimes, which a Thousand may miss?**

C. And because This is possible, is the Odds therefore upon One against a Thousand? Or if so, Why may not the Church be in the Right against the People, as well as any Particular of the People, against the Church, and the Rest? This is most Certain, that of a Thousand Differing Opinions, there can be but One Right: And a Toleration upon your supposal, is sure to set up Nine hundred ninety

ninety nine Errors: Which is the ready way to bring People to cutting of Throats for Opinions.

N. C. **If a *Magistrate* may punish all that his *Conscience* says are in the *wrong*, then All *Persecutors* are in the *right*.**

C. Men are not punish't for their *Consciences*, but for their *Actions*: And if a *Magistrate* may not restrain Liberty of *Action*, then All *Rebellions* are in the *Right*.

N. C. **The *Magistrate* is appointed to *see That Executed which Christ hath appointed in Religion*; *and Punctually ty'd up*, neither to *Add*, nor to *Diminish*, either in the *Matter*, or in the *Manner*. The *Manner* Christ hath appointed, being as positively obliging as the *Matter*.** Li'v. of Consc. p. 24.

C. If it be the Magistrate's Duty to see Christ's Appointments in Religion Executed, in *Matter*, and *Manner*, without *Adding*, or *Diminishing*: *First*, You must allow him to be a Competent Judge of What Christ hath appointed; (for otherwise his Commission directs him to do He knows not What.) *Secondly*, According to your Argument, there is but *One Way of Worship*, Warrantable; which

pass

puts a Bar unto any sort of *Toleration* whatsoever.

N. C. If the *Magistrate* has any Power over the *Consciences* of his People, How came he by it? For *he that hath no other, then the* Light of Nature, *hath as much Power, as if he were* Christian; *and by becoming* Christian *hath no Addition of Power to what he had before.*

Lib. of Consc. P. 13, 14.

C. It is true, that *Christianity* (as you put the Case) does not confer upon the *Magistrate* any *New Power*; but it lays upon him an *Additional Obligation* of *Duty*. While his *Conscience* was *Pagan*, He took his Measures only from *Humane Prudence*, and *the Light of Nature*. But upon his *Conversion*, He falls under the Dictate of a *Conscience* that is *Further*, and *Otherwise Enlighten'd*; And becomes Answerable, as well for the Establishing, Securing, and Promoting of *Christianity*, as for the Political Conservation of his *People*, and *Government*.

N. C. Persecution may make *Hypocrites*, but not *Converts*.

C. You may say the Same thing of the *Law*, in other Cases. That makes many Men Honest in appearance, for fear of Punishment; that are yet rotten at Heart. Nay, I am further perswaded, that

that *where Severity makes one Hypocrite, It cures a hundred.* For ſo long as there is either *Profit*, or *Credit* to be got, by the *Diſguiſe* of *Religion*, All Men of *Corrupt Principles*, and *Deſigns* will flow into the *Party*. But when That *Temptation* to *Hypocriſie* ſhall be removed; and that they find nothing to be gotten by the Impoſture, but *Puniſhment*, and *Diſgrace*, They will ſoon betake themſelves to a more regular Station in the Government. *Many a Counterfeit Cripple has been cured with a Dog-whip.*

N. C. Are *Hereſies* to be *Extirpated*, and *Truth* to be *Propagated* by the *Sword*, or by the *Word?*

C. If it be the *Penalty* you oppoſe; Where the *Word* will not do, You your ſelves fly to *Cenſures*, and *Excommunications*, which are *Puniſhments*, as well as *Corporal*, and *Pecuniary Inflictions*; and as little *Inſtructive*. But you are upon a Miſtake: The *Civil Power* does not ſo much Pretend to the Recovery of thoſe that are out of the Way, as to the Saving of the Reſt: Nor does It properly Puniſh any Man, as an *Heretic*, but as a *Seducer*. Do you but let the King's Subjects alone, and He'l never trouble Himſelf to Impoſe upon your Conſciences. If it

reaches not Wickedness in the *Heart*, It provides yet against the *Infection* of it, and the *Scandal*; by keeping the Hands, and Tongues of Licentious People in Order.

N. C. **I do not deny, but that a *Rigorous Law* may have some Profitable Influence upon the *Looser Sort*: Yet still it falls heavy upon the *Innocent*, as well as upon the *Guilty*. To *Know*, *Believe*, or *Profess* are not in our Power: And shall a Man be punish't for want of *Grace*, or *Understanding*?**

C. Though it is not in our Power to *Know*, and *Believe*, as we please; yet to forbear *publishing* of our Thoughts, and *Acting* in Relation to Them, is unquestionably in our Power. Neither is any Man to be punish't for want of *Grace*, or *Understanding*: But yet it will be ill, if those Defects may pass for an Excuse. All manner of Impiety should then go Scot-free: for without Doubt, *Let Fools be Priviledged, and all Knaves shall pretend Ignorance.*

Lib. of Conse. P. 27.

N. C. ***No Man can call* Jesus *the* Christ, *but by the* Holy Ghost: *Will you punish any Man for not having the* Holy Ghost?**

C. No Man that hath the *Holy Ghost*, will

will deny *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: Will you punish any Man for denying *Jesus* to be *Christ*; that is to say, for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

N. C. **He that acts** *against* **his** *Conscience, Sins.*

C. And so does he that Acts *by* it, If in *Error.*

N. C. *Every Man is true to* **God**, *that is true to his* **Conscience**, *though it be* **Erroneous.** Lib. of Consc. p. 56.

C. Will it not then follow, that a Man may worship the *Sun*, or the *Moon*, and yet *be true to God*, if That *Worship* be according to his *Conscience*? To clear This Point; Some *Consciences* are *Erroneous* upon the score of *Invincible Ignorance*; and That Insuperable Frailty is a fair Excuse: But Some *Consciences* again are *Erroneous* for want of due *Care*, *Search*, and *Enquiry*; Others, out of *Pertinacy*: And there is no *Plea* to be admitted for *These Consciences.*

N. C. **How do you know, but you may persecute** *God*, **in the** *Conscience* **of a True Believer, as** *St. Paul* **did, before his Conversion?**

C. If I may turn your own Reason against your self, I may do it, and yet be true to *God*; if in so doing, I am true

to my *Conſcience*. But ſtill you confound *Conſcience*, and *Practiſe*; whereas the *Civil Magiſtrate* pretends to no ſort of *Authority*, or *Dominion* over the *Conſcience*. And your Objection is of as little force any other way: For the *Magiſtrate* is no more *Infallible* in *One Caſe*, then in *Another*; and may as well Dread the Perſecuting of *God*, in the *Conſcience* of a *Murderer*, or any other *Criminal*, as in That of an *Heretick*.

N. C. **I think we have enough: But it may be, This *Toleration* will pleaſe us better in the *Exerciſe*, then it does in the *Speculation*.**

C. What Hinders then, but we may try it that way too?

SECT. VI.

TOLERATION undermines the Law, and cauſes Confuſion *both in* Church *and* State.

N. C. **Why may not a *Toleration* do as well *here*, as in *France*?**

C. How do you mean? Would you have

have his *Majesty* of *Great-Britain*, Tolerate *Roman-Catholicks here*, as his Most *Christian Majesty* does *Protestants* in *France*?

N. C. **You speak as if None were to be Tolerated but** *Papists*.

C. Not I truly: But so it must be, if you'l have your *Toleration* after the *French Fashion*. Can you shew me that any *Non-Conforming Roman Catholicks* are Tolerated *There*? Nay; Or that those of the *Religion* do *Subdivide*, or break Communion among *Themselves*? Such an Instance might stand you in some stead.

N. C. **But is it not More, To** *Tolerate* a *Forreign Religion*, **then to** *Indulge* **your** *own*? **To permit** *Freedom of Worship* **to those you repute** *Hereticks*, **then to** *Relaxe* **a little towards your** *Orthodox* **Friends?**

C. The Question is not, in Matter of *Religion*, whether to Favour *Sound Faith*, or *Heresie*; but in *Reason of State*, whether is more Advisable, to *Tolerate* the Exercise of quite a *Different Religion*; Or a *Separation* from the *Church-Order Establish't*. Alas! In several Religions (and especially where the Professors are divided by mutual Prejudice, and Principles of

strong Opposition, (as in this Case too much they are) There's no great fear of gathering, and engaging Parties, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace. *There is a great Gulf* (as he says) *betwixt them.* And Men do not usually start from one Extreme to another, at a Leap; But *to Tolerate One Church within Another, is to Authorize a Dissolution of the Government both Ecclesiastical, and Civil.* And the Defection is the more Dangerous, because it is almost Insensible. As many as will leave you, may; and every Dissenter is *double*: *One lost*, to the *Government*; *Another gain'd*, to the *Schism*: Which will quickly bring down Authority to the Mercy of the People. In fine, *By Toleration, a Kingdom is divided against it self, and cannot stand.*

N. C. **When you have taken Breath, Do me the Favour to make out what you say.**

C. The Demand of a *Toleration*, is in it self, the *Condemnation* of an *Establish't Law*; and not without hard Reflexions neither, both upon the *Equity*, and *Prudence* of the *Law makers*. So that, at first Dash, here is the *Law unhing'd*: For *If any One Law may be question'd by the Multitude, The Consequence reaches to All the Rest.* *N. C.* **We**

N. C. **We do not queſtion, either the** *Prudence* **of the** *Law-Makers*; **Or the General** *Equity* **of the** *Conſtitution*. **Only where God hath not given Us** *Conſciences* **ſuitable to the** *Rule*, **We humbly deſire ſuch a** *Rule*, **as may Comply with Our** *Conſciences*.

C. Would you have a *Law* that ſhall Comply with all *Conſciences*? God Almighty Himſelf never made a Law that pleaſed all People.

N. C. **It would be well then, that you ſhould bring all Men to the** *ſame Mind*, **before you force them to the** *ſame Rule*.

C. But it would be ill, if there ſhould be *no Rule* at all, till we had found out One that *all People* ſhould ſay *Amen* to.

N. C. **We do not ask the** *Vacating* **of a Law, but the** *Widening* **of it.**

C. Why then you ask a worſe thing; for it were much better for the Publique, totally to *Vacate a Good Law*, then to ſuffer a *Contempt*, even upon a *Bad One*. If the *Reaſon* of ſuch or ſuch a Law be gone, Repeal the *Law*. But to let the *Obligation fall*, and the *Law ſtand*, ſeems to be a *Soloeciſm* in Government. You ſhould conſider, that *Laws* are not made for *Particulars*; but framed with a Re-

gard to the *Community*: And They ought to ſtand *Firm*, and *Inexorable*. If once they come to Hearken to *Popular Expoſtulations*, and to ſide with *By-Intereſts*, the Reverence of Government is ſhaken.

N. C. **But where's the Danger of Receding from that Inexorable Strictneſs?**

C. Here it lies. It implies an Aſſent, both to the *Equity* of the *Complaint*, and to the *Reaſon* of the *Opinion* in Queſtion: (If not alſo a Submiſſion to *Importunity*, and *Clamor*.) And among many Ill Conſequences, It draws This after It, for One. If any *One ſort of People* may be allow'd to challenge any *One Law*; *All other Sorts* have an Equal Right of Complaining againſt *All*, or any of the *Reſt*. So that a *Toleration*, thus Extorted, does not only unſettle the *Law*; but miniſters Argument to the Pretenſe of *Popular Reformation*. To ſay Nothing of the Credit it gives to the Diſobedient, and Diſcouragement to thoſe that keep their Stations: Beſide what may be reflected upon the Magiſtrate, for Inſtability of Counſels.

Another Exception may be This: How ſhall we diſtinguiſh betwixt *Faction*, and *Conſcience*? If it prove to be the *former*,

A *Toleration* does the Business to their Hand. Nay, Suppose it the *latter*; and that, hitherto, there is Nothing but pure *Conscience* in the Case; What Security have We, that it shall not yet embroil us in *Mutiny*, and *Sedition*? Will not the *Tolerated Party* become a Sanctuary for all the *Turbulent Spirits* in the Nation? Shall they not have their *Meetings*, and *Consultations*, without Controul? And when they shall see the *Law* Prostituted to the Lusts of the Multitude; The *Order* of the Government *dissolved*; and the *Government* it self left *naked*, and *supportless*; What can We Expect shall be the End of these things, but *Misery*, and *Confusion*?

Nor is it all, that a *Toleration* is of manifest *Hazard* to us: But it is *That* too, without any sort of *Benefit* in Return. Shall we be the *Quieter* for it? No. *One Grant* shall become a *President* for *Another*; And so shall *One Importunity* for *Another*, Till we are brought in the *End*, either to a *General License*; Or to a *General Tumult*. (No matter Which) The *Rejected Party* will be sure to mind you, that They are as good *Subjects*, and have as good *Claims* as Others, that are *Tolerated*; upon which disobliging score, there

there falls an *Odium*, and *Envy* upon the Government.

I think a Man shall not need the Spirit of *Prophesie*, to foretel these Events. For a *Toleration* does naturally *Evirtuate* the *Law*, and lead to a *Total Dissolution* of *Ecclesiastical Order*; and Consequently, to a *Confusion*, both in *Church*, and *State*.

N. C. I do not find my self much prest'd by any thing now offer'd: If a *Toleration unhinges the Law*, 'Tis but making the *Law* a little *Wider*, and then that Block is removed. And so is the Fear likewise of bringing present *Importunities* into *President*: For All *Tolerable Liberties* may be comprehended within that *Latitude*. And as to the matter of Imposing *Faction* for *Conscience*, such a Prohibition secures You, as well, as the Act for *Uniformity*.

C. I have spoken as much as Needs to this Point: If you think you have any Right to a *Toleration*, make it out; and Approve your selves for a Generation of People, to Whom, the King may with *Honour*, and *Safety*, Extend a Bounty.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The Non-Conformiſt's Plea for Toleration, upon REASON OF STATE.

C. THe Ordinary Motives to *Indulgence*, are Theſe Three. 1. *Reaſon of State.* 2. *The Merits of the Party.* 3. *The Innocence, and Modeſty of their Practiſes, and Opinions.* What have you to ſay now for a *Toleration* upon *Reaſon of State?*

N. C. The *Non-Conformiſts* are the *King's Subjects*; and What's a *King* without his *People?*

C. By *Birth*, and *Obligation*, they are the *King's Subjects*; but if they be not ſo in *Practiſe*, and *Obedience*, They have no longer any Title to the Benefit of his *Protection*; And ſuch *Subjects* are the worſt of *Enemies.*

N. C. You will not deny them however to be a *Numerous Party*; And a People of *Conduct*, and *Unity*: Which puts the Government under ſome kind of Prudential Neceſſity, to oblige ſo Conſiderable an Intereſt.

C. If

C. If they be consequently *Dangerous*, because they are *Numerous*; The *Greater* the *Number* is, the *greater* is the *Hazard*: And therefore because they are *many already*, and will *encrease* if they be *suffer'd*, They are *not* to be *Tolerated*.

N. C. **But Men will be much more** *Peaceable* **when they are** *Indulged*, **then when they are** *Persecuted*.

C. Now I am perswaded, that the *Multitude* will be much quieter *without* a Power to do Mischief, then *with* it. But what is your Opinion of the *Honesty* of the Party?

N. C. **I do seriously believe the** *Non-Conformists* **to be an** *Honest*, *Conscientious* **sort of People.**

C. But they must be *Knaves*, to make Good Your Argument: for if they be *Honest*, They'l be *quiet without a Toleration*: If they be *Dishonest*, They'l be *Dangerous with it*. Consider again; If there be any *Hazard*, it lies not in the *Number*, but in the *Confederacy*. A *Million* of Men without *Agreement*, are but as *One Single Person*. Now They must *Consult*, before they can *Agree*; and They must *Meet*, before they can *Consult*. So that barely to hinder the *Assembling* of these Multitudes, frustrates the *Danger* of Them.

Them. Whereas, on the other ſide, *To Tolerate Separate Meetings, is to Countenance a Combination.*

N. C. **Miſtake me not; I do not ſay, 'tis likely they will be troubleſome, in Reſpect of their** *Temper*, **and** *Judgments*; **but that they are Conſiderable enough to be ſo, in Regard of their** *Quality* **and** *Number*.

C. Whether do you take to be the *Greater Number*; Thoſe that ſingly wiſh to be diſcharg'd from the *Act of Uniformety*; Or Thoſe that would have *no Law at all*? Thoſe that are troubled becauſe they may not *Worſhip* according to their *Fancy*: Or Thoſe that are diſpleaſed becauſe they cannot *Live*, and *Rule* according to their *Appetite*? The *Truytor* would have *One Law* diſcharg'd: The *Schiſmatick*, *Another*: The *Idolater*, a *Third*: The *Sacrilegious* Perſon, a *Fourth*: The *Profane Swearer*, a *Fifth*: The *Falſe Swearer*, a *Sixth*: The *Murderer*, a *Seventh*: The *Seducer*, an *Eighth*: And in fine; Not *One* of a *Thouſand*, but had rather *Command*, then *Obey*. Shall the King therefore diſſolve the *Law*, becauſe there are ſo many *Criminals*? That were to raiſe an Argument *againſt Authority*, from the very *Reaſon* of

of its *Constitution*. Shall the People be left to do what they *list*, because a World of them have a Mind to do what they *should not*? Shall his Majesty give up his *Government*, for fear of some *Millions* (perchance) in his Dominions, that had rather be *Kings*, then *Subjects*? Less forcible, beyond Question, is the Necessity of the King's *Granting* a *Toleration*, (if you reckon upon *Numbers*) then That of *Renouncing* his *Sovereignty*. For doubtless, where there is *One Man* that is truly *Scrupulous*, there are *hundreds* of *Avaricious*, *Ambitious*, and otherwise *Irreligious Persons*.

N. C. **Tell me, I beseech you; Do not you believe that there are** *more Non-Conformists* **now, then there were at the beginning of the Late War?**

C. Yes, I do verily believe, *Three to One*.

N. C. **Why then 'tis at least** *Three* **to** *One* **against You: For at That time, the Third Part of This Number was the Predominant Interest of the Nation.**

C. That does not follow; for you may remember, that at the beginning of the late War, The Party were Masters of the Tower, The Navy, of all Considerable Forts,

Forts, Towns, and Magazins: They had a great part of the Crown and Church Revenues under their Command, and *London* at their Beck: Beſide the Plunder of Malignants, and the Bountiful Contributions of the Well-affected. *Scotland* was already Confederate with them in *One Rebellion*; and they had made ſure of *Another* in *Ireland* (by Perſecuting the Earl of *Strafford*, who was the only Perſon Capable of Keeping them Quiet.) Which they further aſſiſted, by a Groſs Oppoſition of his Majeſties Propoſals, and Reſolutions to ſuppreſs it. [*See the King's Speech of Decemb.* 14. 1641. *and the following Petition concerning the ſame.*] Ex. Coll. p. 2, 3.

Finally, for the better Countenance of their Uſurpations, *the Houſe of Commons* was drawn down into *a Cloſe Committee*, and the Votes of that *Junto* were Impos'd upon the Nation as the Acts of a Regular, and Complete *Authority*. This was their Condition *formerly*; but bleſſed be God, it is not ſo *at preſent*.

The Three Kingdoms are now at Peace; and we have a Parliament that is no Friend to the Faction. The King is Poſſeſt of a Conſiderable Guard, which his Royal Father wanted. The Militia is in ſafe Hands. His Majeſty is likewiſe poſſeſt

sest of his Regal Power, and Revenue: And his Capital City firm in its Obedience: To all which may be added, that although divers Particulars are as Wealthy as Pillage, and Pardon, can make them; Yet They want a *Common Stock* to carry on a *Common Cause*. The *Thimbles*, and the *Bodkins* fail; and the Comfortable In-comes of (*a*) *Irish Adventures*; (*b*) *Moneys* and *Plate* upon the *Propositions*; (*c*) *Confiscated Estates*; (*d*) *Twentieth Parts*; and (*e*) *Weekly Assessments*; and a hundred other Pecuniary Stratagems are departed from them.

a Ex. Coll. p. 84.
b p. 339.
c p. 609.
d p. 764.
e p. 392.

If it be so, that these People have None of these Advantages now remaining, by virtue whereof, they did so much Mischief before; What *Necessity* of *Tolerating* for fear of *Disobliging* Them?

N. C. **However; It is not for your credit, to say, these People want** *Conduct*, **by whom your selves have been worsted.**

C. The Men that worsted us, were a sort of People, that Voted down Bishops on the wrong side of the Parliament-house Door; That cry'd, *They would have no more Porter's Lodge at Whitehall*; and told his Sacred Majesty in a Publique Declaration [*August* 8. 42.] that *The Pretence that his Person was there in Danger*,

Ex. Coll. p. 533.
p. 494.

Danger, was a Suggeſtion as falſe as the Father of Lies could invent.— That Seiz'd the Tower, The Navy, The King's Towns, Forts, Magazins, Friends, and Revenues: That Levy'd War againſt, and Impriſon'd his Sacred Perſon; Uſurped his Sovereign Authority; Imbrued their Hands in his Royal Blood; and in the very Pulpit, animated, and avowed the Unexampled Murder.

If *Theſe* be the People which you plead for, under the Notion of *Non-Conformiſts*, never trouble your ſelves to go *Nine Mile* about, for a *Toleration*: But *come roundly up to the Point, and deſire his Majeſty to deliver up his Crown.* If it be Otherwiſe, You have overſhot your ſelf in your Challenge; and it does not appear, that You are the *Numerous, Politick*, and *United Party* we took you for. If the *Non-Conformiſts were* the Principal *Conducters* in that Deſign, they are not *honeſt* enough to be *truſted*; and *I ſee no Reaſon of State, to Diſpoſe the King to Gratifie the Murderers of his Father.* If They were *not* ſo, it was none of *Their Conduct* that did the Work.

N.C. If *Societies*, and *Profeſſions*, ſhall be made anſwerable for the Failings of *Particulars*, All *Communities*, and *Fellowſhips*

lowships will be found blameable alike; for there is no *Order*, or *Way*, without *Corrupt Pretenders* to't: And it is not enough to say, there were *Non-Conformists* in the *Party*; unless you prove, that what those *Non-Conformists* did, was acted upon a Principle, *Common* to *Dissenters*; and that they did it, as *Non-Conformists*.

C. This is a *Defence*, instead of an *Answer*; as if I had now charg'd the *Combination* upon the *Non-Conformists*, when I only ask, if they were the *Managers* of it, or No? *This*, you neither *Confess*, nor *Deny*; And there let it rest: Since the *Dilemma* lies indifferently against you, whether they were, or not, (as does already appear) Touching the *Unity* you boast of, (I must confess) it is as eminent against your *Superiours*, as your *Disagreements* are among your *selves*. And take all together, I see Nothing made out as yet, to prove, that the Kingdom is likely to be either the *Better* for *Granting* a *Toleration*, or the *Worse* for *Refusing* it. Moreover, We are not unacquainted with your *false Musters*. *Nine Presbyteries*, of *Fifty*, made up One of your *General Assemblies*. And upon the *Conference* at *Hampton-*

Spotswood. Hist. *Scotl.* p. 487.

Hampton-Court, in 1604. *of above* Nine Thousand *Ministers*, *there were but* Forty Nine *upon the Roll*, *that stood out*, *and were deposed*: *Such a Noise* (says *Spotswood*) *will a few Disturbers cause*, *in any Society where they are Tolerated*. But what if a Man should allow the *Non-Conformists* to be as valuable as you represent them? It is but a kind of *Pagan* Argument, to urge the Worshipping of Them (as the *Indians* do the *Devil*) for fear they should hurt us. Ibid. p 479

N. C. **They that have a Power to do** *Hurt*, **have commonly a Power to do** *Good*; **And no doubt of it, the** *Non-Conformists*, **under the Obligation of an** *Indulgence*, **would shew themselves as serviceable to the Common Good, as any sort of People whatsoever.**

C. What they *will* do, is uncertain; What They *have* done, is upon Record, in Characters of Blood. Give me but One Instance, even since the Reformation, where *England*, or *Scotland* was ever the better for Them (any otherwise, then by God's Extraordinary Working of Good out of Evil, and Take the Cause.

N. C. **I would it were put upon that Issue.**

SECT. VIII.

The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration, from the MERITS of the Party.

C. WHat has your Party *Merited* from the Publique, that an Exception to a General Rule should be Granted in your Favour?

N. C. **Many of Us Ventur'd All, to save the Life of the late King.**

C. And yet ye ventur'd more to take it away: For ye did but *Talk* for the *One*; and ye *Fought* for the *Other*.

N. C. **We ever abominated the Thought of Murdering him.**

C. You should have abominated the Money too, for Which ye sold Him.

N. C. **Who sold Him?**

C. The *Presbyterians* sold Him; and the *Independents* were the *Purchasers*.

N. C. **Did not the** *Presbyterians* **Vote His Majesties** *Concessions* **a Ground for a** *Treaty?*

C. Yes; but it was upon Conditions, worse then Death it self. They deliver'd Him up too, when they might have preserved

ſerved him: And they ſtickled for Him, when they knew they could do Him no Good.

N. C. **What End could they have in That?**

C. The very ſame End in —48, which they had in —41: To make a Party by it, and ſet up a *Presbyterian Intereſt* in the *King's Name.*

N. C. **All the World knows, that We were ſo much afflicted for his Sacred Majeſties Diſtreſs, that We had many Solemn days of *Humiliation* for it.**

C. So ye had for his *Succeſſes* (when Time was) for fear he ſhould get the Better of Ye: And you had your days of *Thankſgiving* too, for his Diſaſters.

N. C. **Pray'e let me ask You One Queſtion now: *Who brought in this King?***

C. They that would not ſuffer You to keep him out: That Party, which, by a Reſtleſs, and Inceſſant Loyalty, hindred your Eſtabliſhment.

N. C. **And what do you think of the *Secluded Members?***

C. We'l ſpeak to that Point in another Place. But can you tell me What was the Ground of the Quarrel? I ſuppoſe I

need not tell you What was the Event of it.

N. C. Religion, and *Liberty*.

C. Of Which Side were the *Tender Consciences? For* the King; Or *Against* Him?

N. C. **We were ever** *for* **the King; Witness our** *Petitions, Declarations*, **and, in a most Signal manner, Our** *Solemn League and Covenant.*

C. Now I thought you had been *against* Him: because You took away his *Revenue, Authority*, and *Life*: Unless you mean that you were *For* Him in your *Words*, as you were *Against* Him in your *Actions.*

N. C. **There were many of Us, that lob'd the King as well as any of those** *about Him.*

C. According to the *Covenant* (That is.) And does not your Party love *This King*, as well as they did the *Last?* I do not think but you love the *Bishops* too.

N. C. **Truly when they are out of their** *Fooleries*, **I have no Quarrel to the** *Men.* **But what makes you couple the** *Crown*, **and the** *Mitre* **still? As if no Man could be a** *Good Subject*, **that is disaffected to** *Prelacy.*

C. Why truly, I think you can hardly shew

shew me any *One Non-Conformist* that ever struck Stroke for the *King*; Or any true Son of the *Episcopal Order* of the Church, that ever bore Arms *against* Him.

N. C. **Are not you your self satisfied, that even** *Cromwel Himself*, **and divers of his** *Principal Officers*, **when the late King was at** *Hampton-Court*, **had Deliberations, and Intentions to** *Save* **Him? and that there were** *Thousands* **in the** *Army*, **that had no** *Unkindness* **for his** *Majesty*?

C. I do absolutely believe, both the *One*, and the *Other*; and that the *Folly*, and *Heedlesness* of the *Common-Souldier* contributed, in a High Measure, to the *General Fate*: Nay, that his Late Majesty was oppress'd, even by those, that thought they fought *for* him, before they understood what they did. But yet let me Commend to your Observation, that these relenting *Intervals* in the *Heads* of the *Army*, did manifestly *Vary*, according to the Pulse of their *Affairs*. Which evinces, that it was a *Deliberation*, upon the matter of *Convenience*, rather then upon a Point of *Conscience*. But thus far however we are agreed; That *many* of the *Non-Conformists* were *engaged*; Whether upon *Ignorance*, *Interest*, or

Faction, take your Choice. That is to say, upon Which of These Three you will found the *Merits* of your *Party*.

We are next to Enquire, How far your *Principles*, and *Actions*, will comport with the *Duties* of *Society*, and the *Ends* of *Government*.

SECT. IX.

The Non-Conformists Plea *for* Toleration, *from the* Innocence, *and* Modesty *of their* OPINIONS *and* PRACTISES.

C. IN the Question of *Government*, and *Obedience*, there are many Points, wherein the *Non-Conformists* agree: Many more, wherein they *differ*: and not a few, wherein they are altogether *Fluctuant*, and *Uncertain*. We have Nothing to do (in this Place) with their *Disagreements*, or *Uncertainties*; save only in those Matters wherein they are United by *Common Consent*: And to Determine what Those are, will be a New Difficulty; Unless you tell Us before-hand, What *Authorities* we may depend upon. Your *Principles*

Principles must be *Known*, or they cannot be *Examined*. Wherefore, Pray'e Direct us Where we may find them.

N.C. **Why truly in the *History* of the *Reformation*; for This Controverſie has been on foot from the very beginning of it, to this Day.**

C. If you ſpeak of the *Reformation beyond the Seas*, I do not find any thing there, that comes neer our Purpoſe. Here is, firſt, Pretended, a *Reformation* of a *Reformation*; Secondly, A *Conjunction* of *Several Parties*, and *Perſwaſions*, at utter *Enmity* One with Another, in a *Confederacy* againſt the Order of the *Government*: Whereas in the Great Turn of Affairs *Abroad*, I ſee little more then a *Defection* from the Church of *Rome*; and People ſetling themſelves in ſome *other way*, as well as they could. *Muncer*'s Party in *Germany*, had (I confeſs) ſome Reſemblance of the Tumults here in *England*, that uſher'd in the late War; both for the *Medly*, and for the *Rabble*. In *Scotland* indeed, there was a Conteſt, for the *Reforming* of a *Reformation*; and it went high. But it was only a Struggle, for the *Geneva-Diſcipline*: Which Humour was brought over to *Us* too, and driven on, for a while, under Q. *Elizabeth*, with

with much *Contumacy*, and *Bitterness*. But our Case (in short) was never known in the *Christian* World, till the late Troubles; and thither it is, that we must resort for satisfaction to our present Enquiry. Now whether you'l be tried by the *Declarations*, *Votes*, *Orders*, and *Ordinances* of that Pretended *Parliament* that carry'd on the Quarrel; Or by the Undeniable *Doctrines*, and *Positions* of your own *Divines*; (and those the very *Idols* of your *Party*) is left at your Election.

N. C. **As for the** *Parliament*, **let them answer for themselves: We had no hand in their Proceedings. And for our** *Ministers*, **They were but** *Men*, **and may have their Failings as well as other People. If you would know our** *Principles*; *We are for Worshipping according to the* **Light** *of Our* **Consciences,** *for Obeying God* **rather then** *Man*; **and for yielding all** *due Obedience* **to the** *Civil Magistrate.*

C. All This comes to Nothing. For you may make that *Light* what you please; and Qualifie that *due Obedience* as you list. What does all this Evasion, and Obscurity signifie; but that there is somewhat in the bottom, more then you are willing to own?

There

There are a sort of People, that tell us, *The* War *raised in* —41, *in the Name of* King and Parliament, *was* Lawful. And *That the* Soveraignty *was lodg'd in the* Two Houses, (Nay in the *People*) *in Case of* Necessity. *That* Kings *are but the* Peoples Trustees; *Their* Power, Fiduciary; *and the* Duty *of* Subjects *only* Conditional. *That* Princes *may be* Depos'd; *Nay, and put to* Death, *in Case of* Tyranny: And *That their* Persons *may be* Resisted, *but not their* Authority. That *the* King *is* Singulis Major, Universis Minor: And that *the* People *may Enter into* Covenant, *for the* Reformation *of* Religion, without *the* Consent *of the* Chief Magistrate; *nay*, against *his* Authority; *and Propagate* Religion *by the* Sword. *They make their* Appeals, *from the* Literal *Construction of* Law, *to the* Equitable; *from the* Law Written, *to the* Law *of* Nature, *and* Necessity.

A Man might ply You with fresh Instances upon this Subject, till to morrow morning; But here we'l stop: And pray'e speak your Opinion now, of Granting a *Toleration*, to a *Party* that *Professes*, and *Teaches*, *These Principles*; and *Acts* accordingly.

N. C. What is all This to the *Non-Conformists?*

Conformists? who are already come to an *Agreement*; that, *In the Question of* Toleration, *The Foundation of* Faith, Good Life, *and* Government, *is to be* Secured.

C. Very Good. So that what *Party* soever shall be found Guilty of the *Positions* aforesaid, and of *Actions* answerable thereunto, cannot reasonably pretend to a *Toleration*, from *the Innocency of their Opinions and Practises.* Now to *Particulars.*

The POSITIONS of Divers Eminent Non-Conformists.

I. The *War* raised by the *TWO HOUSES* in the Name of *King and Parliament*, 1641. *was Lawful.*

Mr. Baxter's Holy Commonwealth. Printed 1659.

[*I cannot see, that I was mistaken in the* main Cause, *Nor dare I repent of it, Nor forbear the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of Things.*—— *And my Judgment tells me, That if I should do otherwise, I should be guilty of* Treason, *Or* Disloyalty, *against the* Soveraign Power of the Land. *Pag.* 486.

A

A King, *abusing his* Power, *to the Overthrow of* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *may be* Controuled, *and* Oppos'd. *This may serve to* justifie *the Proceedings of this Kingdom against the* Late King, *who in a Hostile way set himself to overthrow* Religion, Parliaments, Laws, *and* Liberties. *P.* 10. — *Robert Douglass his Serm. Preach'd at Scone, Jan.* 1. 1651. *Printed* 1660.

The Righteousness *of the* Parliament's Cause, *is as clear, as the Sun at Noon-day. And, like* the Law of God *it self, in These Excellent Qualifications of it; That It is* Holy, Just, *and* Good. *P.* 6. — *J. Goodwin's* Anti-Cavalerism.

II. The *Lords, and Commons* are the *Supreme Power*; Nay the *People*, in Case of *Necessity*.

Parliaments *may judge of* Publique Necessity, *without the* King; *(If deserted by the* King) *and are to be accompted, by Virtue of* Representation, *as* the Whole Body of the State. *P.* 45. — The Observator.

Whensoever a King, *or* other Superior Authority, *creates an* Inferior; *They Invest it with a Legitimacy of* Magistratical Power *to* Punish Themselves *also, in Case they prove* Evil-doers. *P.* 7. — Right and Might well met, *Anno* 1648.

England *is a* mixt Monarchy, *and Governed by the* Major Part *of the* Three Estates — Parliament-Physick.

Estates *Assembled in* Parliament. *P.* 111.

Ahab's Fall. *The* Houses *are not only requisite to the Acting of the Power of making Laws; but* Co-ordinate *with his* Majesty, *in the very Power of Acting. P.* 42.

Interest of *England* in the matter of Religion. 1660. *When as a* Part *of the* Legislative Power *resides in the* Two Houses; *as also a Power to redress* Grievances, *and to call into* Question *all* Ministers of State, *and* Justice, *and* all Subjects, *of whatsoever Degree, in Case of* Delinquency; *It may be thought, that a* Part *of the* Supreme Power *doth reside in* Them, *though they have not the* Honorary Title: *And* This Part *of the* Supreme Power, *is indeed Capable of doing* Wrong: *Yet how it might be guilty of* Rebellion, *is more Difficult to conceive. P.* 49.

The Peoples Cause stated. *An.* 1662. *The* Delegates *of the* People, *in the House of* Commons, *and the* Commissioners *on the* King's *behalf, in the House of* Peers, *concurring;- do* very far bind *the* King, *if not* wholly. *P.* 112. *And when These cannot agree, but* break, *One from Another, the* Commons *in Parliament assembled, are* Ex Officio, The Keepers of the Liberties of the Nation, *and Righteous* Possessors, *and* Defenders *of it, against all* Usurpers, *and* Usurpations *Whatsoever. P.* 130.

III.

III. *KINGS* are but the *Peoples TRUSTEES*; Their *Power*, *Fiduciary*; and the *Duty* of *Subjects, Conditional.*

[*The* King, *is but the* Servant *of the* People; *and his Royalty is only a Virtual Emanation from them*; *and in Them*, radically, *as in the* firſt Subject.] *So* Rutherford, Parker, Goodwin, Bridges, Milton, *&c.*

The People *can give* no other Power, *then ſuch as* God *has given* Them: *And* God *has never given a* moral Power *to do* Evil. *All* Fiduciary Power, abuſed, *may be* repealed; *And* Parliamentary Power *is* no Other: *Which, if it be* abuſed, *The* People *may* repeal *it*; *and* reſiſt *them*; Annulling *their* Commiſſions; Reſcinding *their* Acts; *and* Denuding *Them of their* Fiduciary Power: *Even as the* King Himſelf *may be* denuded *of the* ſame Power *by the* Three Eſtates. *P.* 152. *Lex Rex. An.* 1644.

Princes *derive their* Power, *and* Prerogative *from the* People; *and have their* Inveſtitures, *meerly for the* Peoples Benefit. *P.* 1. *Jus Populi* 1644.

It is the King's Duty *to paſs all ſuch* Laws, *as* Both Houſes *ſhall judge* Good *for* Declarat. touching the 4 Bills *March* 13. 1647.

for the Kingdom: *Upon a Supposition, That They are Good, Which by them are judg'd Such.*

Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos. Printed 1648.

If the Prince *fail in his* Promise, *the* People *are Exempt from their* Obedience; *The* Contract *is made* Void, *and the Right of* Obligation *is of* no Force.——*It is therefore permitted to the* Officers *of a Kingdom, either* All, *or some good* Number *of them, to* Suppress *a* Tyrant. *P.* 120, 121.

IV. *Princes* may be *DEPOSED*, and put to *DEATH*, in Case of *Tyranny.*

Tenure of Kings. 1649.

Every Worthy Man, *in* Parliament, *may, for the* Publique Good, *be thought a fit* Peer, *and* Judge *of the* King. *P.* 24.

Goodwin's Defence of the King's Sentence.

Where there is no Opportunity *for the Interposure of* Other Judges, *the* Law *of* Nature, *and the* Law *of* Nations *allow* Every Man *to* Judge *in his* own Case. *P.* 34.

Mr. Baxter's Holy Commonwealth.

If a Prince wants such Understanding, Goodness, *or* Power, *as the People judge Necessary to the Ends of* Government; *In the* first *place*; *He is Capable of the* Name, *but not of the* Government. *In the* Second; *He* Deposes Himself. *In the*

the Third; *The want of* Power, Depoſes *him. Theſes* 135, 136, 137.

It is lawful for any, *who have the* Power, *to call to* Accompt, *a* Tyrant, *or Wicked King*; *And after due* Conviction, *to* Depoſe, *and put him to* Death, *if the* Ordinary Magiſtrate *have* Neglected, *or* Deny'd *to do it.* Tenure of Kings. 1649.

It is not impoſſible, for a King, Regis Perſonam Exuere; *In a* Natural, *Or* MORAL Madneſs *or Frenzy to turn* Tyrant, *Yea* Beaſt, *Waiving his Royal Place*, Violently, Extrajudicially, Extramagiſterially *to* aſſault *his* Subjects, *as* Saul *did* David. *In this Caſe, Men think* Nature *doth* Dictate *it*; *and* Scripture *doth* Juſtifie *a* Man, *Se Defendendo Vim Vi repellere. P.* 23. A Survey of the Grand Caſe. Printed 1663.

The Real Soveraignty *among* Us, *was in* King, Lords, *and* Commons; *and if the* King *raiſe War againſt ſuch a* Parliament: *The* King *may not only be* reſiſted, *but Ceaſeth to be a* King. *Theſis* 358. Mr. Baxter's Holy Commonwealth.

The Lord rent the Kingdom *from* Saul, *for ſparing* One Agag; *and for want of* thorough Extirpation *of all the accurſed Things, He loſt both Thanks for What He had done, and Kingdom alſo. P.* 27. Mr. *Faircloth* before the Commons.

Let no Law hinder *Ye*: *If* Law *be to be* broken, *it is for a* Crown; *and there-* Mr. *Symſon.*

fore, *for* Religion.—— *Ye are ſet over Kingdoms, to Root out, Pull down, Deſtroy, and Throw down: Do it quickly, Do it thoroughly.*

Scripture and Reaſon for Defenſive Arms. 1643.

By what Rule of Conſcience, *or* God, *is a State Bound to Sacrifice* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *rather then endure, that the* Princes Life *ſhould come into any Poſſibilities of* Hazard, *by Defending them, againſt thoſe that in his Name are bent to ſubdue them?* If he will needs thruſt Himſelf upon the Hazard, when he needs not, Whoſe Fault is That?

Engliſh Tranſlation of the Scots Declaration.

There never was a Greater Harmony of the Laws of Nature, Reaſon, Prudence, *and* Neceſſity, *to Warrant any Act, then may be found, and diſcern'd in that Act of* Juſtice *on the* Late King. *P.* 18.

nce of 's nce. Good-

Touching the Righteouſneſs of the Sentence *paſt upon the* King; *Doubtleſs never was any Perſon under Heaven, Sentenc'd with* Death, *upon more* Equitable, *and* Juſt *Grounds. P.* 90.

Poli- of Prin-

Praiſed be God, Who hath delivered us from the Impoſitions of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genu-flections, *and* Cringings, *with* Croſſings, *and* All That Popiſh Traſh and Trumpery. *And truly (I ſpeak no more then what I have often thought, and ſaid)* **The Removal of theſe Inſup-**

Insupportable Burdens, counterballs for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in these late Distractions. *Nor did I ever as yet hear of any Godly Men that desired, Were it Possible, to Purchase their Friends, or Money again, at so dear a Rate, as with the Return of These: To have Those Soul-Burdening,* Antichristian *Yokes re-imposed upon Us. And if any such there be, I am sure, that Desire is no part of their Godliness; and I profess my self, in That, to be None of the Number. P.* 23.

V. The *PERSONS* of *Princes* may be *resisted*, though not their *AUTHORITY.*

The Man *who is* King, *may be* resisted, *but not the* Royal Office: *The* King *in* Concreto, *but not the* King *in* Abstracto. *P.* 265. [*He may be* resisted *in a Pitch't* Battel, *and with* Swords, *and* Guns. 324. *That is; His* Private Will *may be* resisted, *not his* Legal Will. 269. *Neither is He in the Field, as a* King, *but as an unjust* Invader, *and* Grassator. 334. *If He chance to be* Slain, *'Tis but an* Accident; *and who can help it?* 324. *He is guilty of his own Death; Or let Them* Lex Rex.

answer for't that brought Him thither, The Contrary Party *is* Innocent. 273.]

Mr. *Wer's* Analysis of the Covenant. *English* Translation. *The* King's Authority *is with the* Two Houses, *though the* Person *of* Charles Stuart *be not there.*

His Capacity *was at* Westminster, *when his* Body *was upon the* Scaffold *at* Whitehall, *&c. P.* 18.

VI. The *King* is *SINGULIS MAJOR, UNIVERSIS MINOR.*

Lex Rex. *The* King *is in* Dignity Inferior *to the* People. *P.* 140. *The* Soveraign Power *is* Eminently; Fontaliter; Originally, *and* Radically *in the* People. 156.

De Monarchiâ Absolutâ. *Detrahere Indigno Magistratum etsi* Privati *non Debeant*, Populus *tamen* Universus *quin possit*, *Nemo*, *Opinor*, *dubitabit. It is not for* Private *Persons to Depose a Wicked Governour: But that the* Universality *of the* People *may Lawfully do it, I think no Body questions. Fixum Ratúmque habeatur*, Populi *semper esse debere* Supremam Majestatem. *P.* 9.

VII. The

VII. The *People* may enter into a *Covenant* for *Reformation*, without the *Consent* of the *Chief Magistrate*.

There is much Sin *in* making *a* Covenant *on* Sinful Grounds, *and there is* more Sin *in* Keeping it; *But when the* Preservation *of true* Religion, *and the* Vindication *of* Just Liberties *meet in the* Ground, *Ye may* Swear, *and not* Repent; *Yea, if Ye* Swear, *Ye must* not Repent. *P.* 18. *Not only is* That Covenant *which* God *hath made with* Us, *founded in the* Blood of Christ; *but* That *also*, *which* We *make with* God. *P.* 33. Mr. *Caryl* at Taking the Covenant. 1643.

The Breach of the National Covenant *is a Greater Sin, then a Sin against a* Commandment, *or against an* Ordinance. 158. ——*A Sin of so high a Nature, that God cannot in Honour but be avenged upon't.* 159. The Phœnix, *&c.*

VIII. *RELIGION* may be *Propagated* by the *SWORD*.

The Question in England *is*, *Whether* Christ, *or* Anti-Christ, *shall be* Lord, *or* King? *Go on therefore Couragiously*: Never Marshall's Sacred Paregyrique.

ver can ye lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel. Christ *shed all his* Blood *to save* You *from* Hell. *Venture All* Yours, *to set* Him *upon his* Throne *P.* 23.

Mr. *Case* before the Commons. 1644.

Curs'ed be he that withholdeth his Sword *from* Blood; *that* spares, *when God saith* Strike; *that suffers those to* escape, *whom God has appointed to* Destruction. *P.* 24.

Mr. *Calamy's* speech at *Guild-hall.* 1643.

In the 10 *of* Numbers, *you shall read that* there were Two Silver Trumpets; *and as there were* Priests *appointed for the* Convocation of their Assemblies, *so there were* Priests *to sound the* Silver Trumpets *to Proclaim the* War. *And likewise in the* 20 *of* Deuteronomy, *you shall find there, that when the Children of* Israel *would go out to War,* the Sons of Levi (*one of the* Priests) *was to make a* Speech *to Encourage them. And certainly, if this were the Way of God in the* Old Testament; *certainly, much more in such a* Cause *as* This, *in which Cause,* Religion *is so entwin'd, and indeed so enterlac'd, that* Religion, *and* This Cause, *are like* Hippocrates *his* Twins, *they must* live, *and* dye together.

Mr. *Calamy's* Nobleman's Part. 1643.

You have vowed in This Covenant *to Assist the Forces raised by the* Parliament, *according to your Power, and Vocation; and not to Assist the Forces raised by the* King,

King, *neither Directly, nor Indirectly. P.* 45. *Now let me exhort you, not only to chuse to serve God, and to serve his Church, and his Cause, in this most Just Defensive War, &c.* 46.

In vain shall you in your Fasts, *with* Joshua, *ly on your* Faces, *unless you lay your* Achans *on their* Backs; *In vain are the High Praises of God in your Mouthes,* without a Two-edged Sword in your Hands. *P.* 31. Mr. Herle before the House of Lords, 1643.

The Execution of Judgment is the Lords Work, and they shall be Curs'd that do it Negligently; *and* Curs'd shall they be that keep back their Sword from Blood in this Cause. *You know the Story of Gods Message unto* Ahab, *for letting* Benhadad *go upon Composition. P.* 26. Mr. Strickland on a Thanksgiving. 1644.

Whensoever you shall behold the hand of God, in the Fall of Babylon, *say*; *True; Here is a* Babylonish Priest *crying out,* Alas! Alas! My Living; I have Wife and Children to Maintein. *I: but all this is to perform the Judgment of the Lord. P.* 30. *Though as* Little Ones, *they call for* Pitty, *yet as* Babylonish, *they call for Justice, even to* Blood. M. Bridges on Revel. 4. 8.

IX. There lies an *Appeal* from the *Letter* of the *Law*, to the *EQUITY* of it: And from the *Law Written*, to the *Law* of *NATURE*.

Ex. Coll. P. 150. *An.* 1642. *The* Commander *going against the* EQUITY *of the* Law, *gives* Liberty *to the* Commanded, *to refuse* Obedience *to the* Letter *of it.*

Lex Rex. *There is a Court of* Necessity, *no less then a Court of* Justice; *and the* Fundamental Laws *must then speak: and it is with a People, in this Extremity, as if they had*

Ibid. *no Ruler. P.* 113. *The* People *have given the* Politique Power *to the* King; *and the* NATURAL Power *they Reserve to* Themselves. 151.

Right and Might. *All* Humane Laws *and Constitutions are made with Knees, to bend to the* Law *of* NATURE *and* NECESSITY. *P.* 85.

Here is more then enough said already; and to go on as far as the Matter would carry us, there would be no End on't.

You are now at Liberty, either to *deny* These to be the *Positions* of the *Non-Conformists*; or to *justifie* the *Positions* themselves;

selves; or to lay down your *Plea* for *Toleration*, upon the *Innocency* of their *Principles*.

N. C. **I am no Friend to** *These Positions*: **Neither can I yet quit my** *Claim*, **unless you make it out, that** *These* **are the** *Principles* **of the** *Party*, **which I take to be only the** *Errours* **of** *Individuals*.

C. Shew me the *Party*, and let me alone to prove These to be Their *Principles*. But if you will not acknowledge a *Party*, they are (as you say) but the *Errours* of *Individuals*; though all the *Non-Conformists* in the Three Kingdoms should own them under their Hands.

You call your selves *Non-Conformists*, and so were they, that both began, and carried on the Late *War*. *Great Apprehensions they had of the Designs of the Popish Party.* [So have you.] Mightily offended they were at *the Immoderate Power of the Bishops.* [You again.] *Petitioners for the taking away such Oppressions in* Religion, Church Government, *and* Discipline, *as had been brought in, and Fomented by them.* [Your very Picture still.] *And for Uniting all such together, as joyn in the same* Fundamental Truths *against the* Papists: *by removing some Oppressions,*

Ex. Coll. Pa 2.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Oppressions, and Unnecessary Ceremonies, *by which, Divers weak Consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest.* [The very Platform of your Comprehension.] Thus far You march Hand in Hand: I need not tell you what followed upon't; but Your *Parts* are so much alike, that it looks as if We were now again upon *the first Scene of the same Tragedy.* For a Conclusion, *Conformity*, or *In-Conformity*, seem'd at first to be the Sum of the *Question*; and the *Discipline* of the *Church* was made the *Ground* of the *Quarrel.* The *Ruling Party* in the Pretended *Parliament*, were *Non-Conformists*; The *Army*, *Non-Conformists*; The Pretended *Assembly of Divines* were *Non Conformists*; The *City-Ministers*, and *Lecturers*, *Non-Conformists*; And by the *Solemn League and Covenant*, every Man that took it, was to be a *Non-Conformist*, upon pain of *Damnation.* Now take Your Choice, (since *Non-Conformists* you are) Whether you'l Range your selves under the *Parliament*; Your *Army*; Your *Assembly*; Your *City-Ministers*; Or Your *Solemn League and Covenant*: And let me bear the Blame, if I make it not as clear as the Day, That the *Principles* charg'd upon You, are the *Principles* of Your *Party.* As

As to your *PRACTISES*, They haue been ſuitable to your *POSITIONS*; and All thoſe Violences have been Exerciſed upon the *Government*, that were firſt Dictated in the *Pulpit*. The *Lawfulneſs* of *Popular Inſurrections*; Of *Depoſing*, and Putting *Kings* to *Death*, under the Cloak of *Reformation*, has been vented as *the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt*, even by the *Oracles* of your *Cauſe*: Nay; and ſeveral of Them (at preſent) *Eager Aſſerters* of the *Equity* of a *Toleration*. And what has been the Fruit of Theſe *Unchriſtian-Lectures*; but the *Subverſion* both of *Church*, and *State*: And the *Murder* of a *Pious*, and *Gracious Prince*, under *Pretence* of *Doing God and the Kingdom Good Service*?

N. C. **Theſe are** *Actions* **(I confeſs) not to be warranted. But yet my Charity perſwades me, that a great part of the Miſchief they did, proceeded rather from** *Neceſſity*, **then** *Inclination*.

C. Will ye ſee then what they did afterward, when they were at *Liberty* to do what they liſted?

They had no ſooner Murdered the *Father*, but immediately (*a*) They made it *Death to Proclaim the Son*. (*b*) *They*

Scobell Act. &c. (*a*) Part 2. P. 3.

(b) P. 7. (b) *They aboliſh't Kingly Government.*
(c) P. 51. (c) *Sold the Crown-Lands.* (d) *Declared*
(d) P. 65. *it Treaſon to deny the Supremacy of the*
(e) P. 178. *Commons.* (e) *Nulled all Honours and*
Titles granted by the King ſince —41.
(f) P. 293. (f) *Made* Scotland *One* Commonwealth
with England, *&c.*

Have They now kept any better Touch with the *Liberty* and *Property* of the *Subjects?* Let their Proceedings Witneſs
(a) *Scobell* Acts, &c P. 41. for Them; (a) As *their* Tax *upon the* Fifth *and* Twentieth Part. (b) Exciſe *upon*
(b) P. 60. *Fleſh, Victuals, and Salt.* (c) *A new Ex-*
(c) P. 73. *ciſe upon Allom, Copperas, Monmouth-Caps,*
(d) P. 75. *Hops, Saffron, Starch, &c.* (d) *A* Loan
of 66666 l. 13 s. 4 d. *for Supply of the*
(e) P. 128. Scots. (e) *An* Aſſeſſment *for the Main-*
(f) P. 8. Part 2. *tenance of the* Army. (f) *The Houſe of* Peers Aboliſh't; *and a* Monethly Tax *of*
(g) P. 149. 90000 l. *for the* Army. (g) *A* Month-
(h) P. 153. ly Tax *of* 120000 l. (h) *An* Impoſition
(i) P. 400. *upon Coal.* (i) *A* Monthly Aſſeſſment *of*
60000 l. Not to Clog the Diſcourſe with over many Particulars: We'l ſee next, What They have Done, toward *the Moderating of the Power of Biſhops, and the Removal of Unneceſſary Ceremo-*
(k) P. 42. *nies.* (k) *The Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *Suſpended, and his Temporalties* Seque-
(l) P. 53. ſtred. (l) *Monuments of Superſtition*

De-

Demoliſh't; (That is, in ſhort, an *Ordinance* for *Sacrilege*) (*m*) *The Book of* Common-Prayer *laid aſide, and the* Directory *Commanded inſtead of it.* (*n*) *Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops Aboliſh't, and their Lands ſettled in Truſtees.* (*o*) *Their Lands Expoſed to Sale.* (*p*) *Feſtivals Aboliſh't.* (*q*) *Deans and Chapters*, &c. *Aboliſh't: And their Lands to be Sold.*

(*m*) P. 75. (*n*) P. 99. (*o*) P. 101. (*p*) P. 128. (*q*) Part 2. P. 16.

This is Your Way, Of *MODERATING* the *Power* of *Biſhops*, and of *REMOVING UNNECESSARY CEREMONIES.* And This is the *Hiſtory* (in Little) of the *Opinions*, and *Practiſes* of your Party: Drawn from matter of *Fact*; Provable to a Syllable; and Deliver'd without any Amplification of the Matter.

N C. **Ill things have been done, there's no Queſtion on't; But they have been done by** *Ill Men*: **And 'tis not a** *Toleration* **of** *Faction* **that We pretend to, but a** *Toleration* **of** *Conſcience.*

C, Which *Toleration* (upon farther ſearch) will be found to be a meer *Utopian Project*, or *Worſe.*

SECT.

SECT. X.

The Non-Conformists *demand a* Toleration, *which is neither* INTELLIGIBLE *in the* Whole, *nor* PRACTICABLE, *so far as it may be* Understood.

C. IT makes a great Noise in the World, The Out-cry of the *Non-Conformists*, for *Toleration*, *Indulgence*, *Liberty of Conscience*, *Comprehension*, *&c.* Let them but set it down in a *Clear*, *Practicable*, and *Intelligible Proposition*, and I dare say, They shall have it for the Asking.

Disc. of Relig. Title pag.

N. C. **We do Propound**, *That Reformed Christianity may be settled in its* DUE LATITUDE.

C. By *Reformed Christianity*, I suppose you intend the *Protestant Religion*: But your *DUE LATITUDE* is of a *Suspicious Intimation*. Do not you remember a *Declaration* of the *Two Houses* (*April* 9. 1642.) *for a* DUE, *and Necessary Reformation of the Government, and Liturgy of the Church*: And Nothing to be

Ex. Coll. p. 135.

be taken away, either in the One, or in the Other, but What should be found Evil, and justly Offensive; Or, at the least, Unnecessary, and Burdensom? This *Due Reformation* ended (as you may remember) in a *Total Extirpation* of Both *Liturgy* and *Government*: And We see Nothing to the Contrary, but *Your DUE LATITUDE* may signifie the very same thing with *Their DUE REFORMATION*. Pray be a little Clearer.

N.C. Then to put all out of doubt; *I would, in the* first *place, have* An Establish't Order: *Secondly*; A Limited Toleration: *Thirdly*, A Discreet Connivence. Disc. of Relig. Par. 1. p. 28.

The Parties Comprehended in the *Establishment*, to be of *Importance in the Publique Interest*; and *of Principles Congruous to such Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires.*

I would have the *Toleration*, to Extend to Those that are of *Sound Belief*, and *Good Life*; Yet have taken in some *Principles of Church-Government less Congruous to National Settlement.* Disc. of Relig. Par. 1. p. 38.

And for *Connivence*; It is to be remitted to *Discretion.*

C. What is all This now, but an *Universal*

versal Toleration, in a *Disguise*? *Some* to be *Comprehended* within the *Establishment*; *Others* to be *Tolerated*; And the *Rest* to be *Connived at*.

Again; Your *Establishment* is to be of a *Latitude*, to take in several sorts of *Dissenters*, under such and such *Qualifications*. They must be *of Importance in the Publique Interest*; and *of Principles Congruous to such Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*. Ask the *Dissenters Themselves* concerning their own *Qualifications*, and They'l tell you. that they are *all* of them, of *Important Interests*, and of *Congruous Principles*: So that this way, you are still upon an *Universal Toleration*. But on the *Other* Side, if You Consult *Authority* about Your *Comprehension*, The Preface to the Act for *Uniformity* will tell You, that the *Establishment* is *as wide already* as the *Peace* of the *Nation* will well *bear*. If you'l Acquiesce in *This Judgment*, the Case is determined to Our Hand: If you *Appeal* from it, You cast your selves out of the Pale of your own Project, because of your *Principles Incongruous to the Reason of Government*.

N. C. But it appears to us, that the *Stated Order* of the *Church* may be *widen'd*,

widen'd, without any Check to the *Stability* of *Government*.

C. And what will This avail You, if it appears *otherwise* to the *Governours Themselves*? If *They* may be *Judges*, the *Strife* is at an *End*; but if you think to help your selves by Translating the *Judgment* to the *People*; *After that Day, let us never expect any other* Law, *then the* Dictate *of the* Rabble. It removes the very *Foundations* of the *Government*, and Carries Us headlong into *Anarchy*, and *Confusion*, without Redemption.

If a Man should ask You now, about Your *Importance in Publique Interest*; *First*; as to the *Interest* it self, Whether you mean an *Interest* of Raising *Men*, and *Moneys*; Or *What Other*? *Next*; as to the *Degree*, and *Measure* of your *Importance*; How Many *Regiments* of the *One*, and How many *Millions* of the *Other*, makes up that *Importance*? Would you not take Time for an Answer?

And then, We are as much at a Loss about Your [*Such Stated Order in the Church as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*] You give Us No Satisfaction at all, *Wherein* the *Stability* of the Commonwealth consists; Or *What Sta-*

ted Order in the *Church* that *Stability* requires: But here is a kind of a *Moot-Point* cast in, betwixt *Authority*, and the *People*, *Which* of the Two shall *Determine*, upon That *Congruity*, and *Convenience*.

Your *Limited Toleration* too stands or falls upon the *Same Bottom*, with Your *Comprehension*: That is to say, Who shall *Judge* of the *Sound Belief*, and *Good Life*, of the *Pretendents* to That *Indulgence*.

As to your *Connivence*, You say Nothing of it your self; and I shall Reflect as little upon it.

Let me only Observe Upon the Whole; that if you had really a Mind to set Us right, Methinks, You should not Trifle Us with these *Ambiguities*, and *Amusements*: But rather endeavour by some *Pertinent*, *Intelligible*, and *Practicable Proposition*, to bring Us to a better Understanding. Say, *What Injunctions* You would have *abated*; *Name* the *Parties* You would Recommend for their *Importance of Interests*, *Congruity of Principles*, *Sound Faith*, and *Good Life*. Teach us how to *know* these *Qualities*, *Where* to *look* for Them, and *Who* shall *Judge* of Them. Let it be made out, That the Present *Sollicitors* for *Tender Consciences*,

ſciences, are duly *Authorized*, and *Commiſſion'd* to Act as the *Truſtees* of the *Reſpective Parties*. Do This; and Matters may be brought yet to a Comfortable Iſſue: But ſo long as You place the *Conditions* of your *Indulgence* out of the *Reach* of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Knowledg*, Every Man that is *Excluded*, ſhall diſpute his Title to the *Comprehenſion*, without any Poſſibility of being Confuted; To the *Scandal* of *Religion*, and to the *Perpetual Trouble*, Both of *King*, and *People*.

N. C. To ſet forth the Propounded Latitude, in the Particular Limits thereof, were Preſumptuous, both in Reference to Superiors, and to the Party Concerned in it. Diſc. of Relig. Par. 2. p. 22.

C. As if it were not a greater *Preſumption*, to *Alienate* the Affections of the *People* from their *Superiors*, by Reflections upon the *Iniquity* of the *Government*, then by the Tender of ſome *Rational Mediums* of *Accord*, to Diſpoſe the Hearts of *Superiors* to a Compliance with the *Prayers*, and *Neceſſities* of the *People*. But there is more in theſe *Generalities*, and *Reſerves* then the Multitude are well aware of; and I am afraid, it will be as hard a matter, to bring you to an *Agreement* about the *Particular Parties* to be *Tolerated*, as about the *Model* it ſelf.

SECT. XI.

The Non-Conformists *demand a* Toleration, *for No Body knows* WHOM, *or* WHAT.

C. THe *Non-Conformists* are the *Party* that desire a *Toleration*; Pray let me ask ye, What are their *Opinions?* What are their *Names?* For, I presume, you will not expect a *Toleration*, for *No Body knows What*, or *Whom*. Are they *all of a Mind?* If They were *Tolerated Themselves*, Would They *Tolerate One Another?* Are They come to any Resolution upon Articles? Are They agreed upon any *Model* of *Accommodation?* Do They know What They would be At? Or is it in the Wit of Man, to Contrive a *Common Expedient* to *Oblige* them?

N. C. There's no Body says, that they *are All of a Mind*; Or that it is *possible* to *please* them *all*; Or *Reasonable* to *Endeavour* it. There are Divers among them, whose *Principles* will never endure any *Order* either in *Church*, or *State*. But what is the *Sober Part* the

the Worse for these *Extravagants*? Those, I mean, who are ready to Justifie themselves; even according to the Strictness of your own Measures.

C. If You are for such a *Toleration*, as shall *Exclude* the *Wild*, and *Ungovernable Sects of Dissenters*; How comes it, that, in Your *Writings*, and *Argumentations*, You still plead the *General Cause* of *Non-Conformists*, without any *Exception*, or *Distinction*?

N. C. You are not to fasten a Charge of this Quality upon *Us*; that have already submitted Our selves, Not only to the *Moderation* of a *Limited Indulgence*, but to *your own Conditions* also, under that very *Limitation*.

C. This You have done, I must confess, in *General Terms*; But still I say, as to *Particulars*, Your *Discourses* are of such a Frame and Bias, as to give *Credit*, and *Encouragement*, to *Every Sect* of the *Whole Party*.

N. C. I am of a Perswasion, *but not of a* Party: *and whatsoever my* Perswasion *be, it is* Moderate, Catholick, *and* Pacifick. D'Isc. of Relig. Par. 2. p. 45.

C. And so is every Man's, if his *own Word* may be taken for his *own Perswasion*. But why are ye so *Nice*, and *Cauti-*

ons, in the owning of a *Particular Way*, and *Profession*; and yet so *Frank*, and *Open*, in a *Clamor* for the *Whole Party*? You Complain that you are *persecuted*, and yet *Obstruct* the Means of your own *Relief*. *Some*, Ye say, are to be *Indulged*; *Others*, *Not*. How shall *Authority Distinguish* of Which Number You your selves are; so long as You remain under this *Concealment*? Are You for the *Presbyterians*?

Disc. of Relig. Par. 2. p. 45. *N. C. I am not ashamed of their Company, that are Commonly called by* **That Name**: *Yet I have no Pleasure in such Names of Distinction. Neither my Design, nor my Principles, engage me to maintein the* **Presbyterial Government.**

C. Are You *Independent* then?

Disc. of Relig. Par. 2. p. 38. *N. C.* **Neither.** **But yet** *I am* (as I told you) *for* **Tolerating** *Those of* **Sound Faith**, *and* **Good Life**, *That have taken up some Principles of* **Church-Government** *less Congruous to* **National Settlement.**

C. What Do you think of the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Quakers*, &c?

Ibid. *N. C.* **Why truly**, *So it is*, *That* **Prudent**, *and* **Pious Men** *may be of* **Exceeding Narrow Principles**, *about* **Church-**

Church-Order, *and* Fellowship: *Toward Whom,* Christian Charity *pleadeth for* Indulgence; *and, We hope,* Political Prudence *doth not gainsay it.*

C. So that you are *FOR All Parties,* but not *OF Any.* Which *Generality* gives to Understand, that *your Business,* is rather a *Confederacy,* then a *Scruple.*

N. C. Make That Good if you can.

SECT. XII.

The Conjunct Importunity *of the* Non-Conformists *for a* Toleration, *is not grounded Upon a Matter of* CONSCIENCE.

N. C. YOu are the first Person certainly that ever undertook to make Proof of a *Conscience.*

C. And yet Our Saviour tells Us, (in This very Case of *Hypocrisie*) that *the Tree may be known by its Fruits*: But however; the best way of Proving a Thing Feasible, is the Doing of it.

The *Non-Conformists* refuse Communion with the *Church*: What is it They boggle at?

(a) Disc. of Relig. Pars 2. (b) Peace Offering. (c) Indulg. & Toler. (d) Disc. of Relig. Pars 1. (e) Peace Offering. (f) Indul. & Toler.

N. C. (*a*) *They do esteem the* **Ceremonies** *an Excess in the Worship of God.* Pag. 31. (*b*) *And Dissent from the Present Establishment of Religion, only in things relating to* **Outward Order**, *and* **Worship**. Pa. 12 (*c*) *About the Choice of some Peculiar Ways of Worship.* Pa. 12. (*d*) *But as to the* **English Reformation**, *Established by* **Law**, *They heartily Embrace it, and Assent to the Doctrine of Faith conteined in the Articles of the Church of* **England**. Pa. 22. (*e*) *They have no* **New Faith** *to Declare: No* **New Doctrine** *to Teach; No* **Private Opinions** *to Divulge; No Point, or Truth to Professe, which hath not been Declared, Taught, Divulged, and Esteemed, as the* **Common Doctrine** *of the* **Church** *of* **England**, *ever since the Reformation.* Pa. 11. (*f*) *They come up to a Full Agreement, in all* **Material** *Things, with Them, from Whom they Dissent.* Pa. 30.

C. If They *Agree* in all *Material* Things, it follows, that they *Divide* about Matters *Inconsiderable*; and Break the *Order*, *Peace*, and *Unity* of the Church for *Trifles*. (Things *Indifferent*, and relating to *Outward Order*, and *Worship*.)

N. C. In **Prescribed Forms**, *and* **Rites**

Rites of Religion, *The* Conscience *will interpose, and concern it self; and Cannot resign it self to the* Dictates *of* Men, *in the Points of* Divine Worship. *And* Those Injunctions, *which to the* Imposers, *are* Indifferent; *in the* Consciences *of the* Dissenters, *are* Unlawful. *And What Humane Authority can warrant any One to put in Practice, an* Unlawful, *Or* Suspected *Action?* Pa. 26. Disc of Relig. Pars 2.

C. If This be, really, *Conscience*; You will be found as *Cautious* in venturing, deliberately, upon a *Suspected* Action, in *all other Cases*, as you are in *This*. But what if it shall appear, that This Fit of *Tenderness* only takes you, when you are to pay an *Obedience* to the Law; and that you are as *Bold* as *Lions*, when you come to *oppose* it? Will you not allow us to think it possible, that there may be somewhat more, in the *Importunities*, and *Pretences* of the *Non-Conformists*, then *Matter of* CONSCIENCE?

'Tis a *Suspected Action* to *Kneel* at the *Sacrament*; but *None*, to hold up your *Hands* at the *Covenant*. You make a *Conscience* of disclaiming the *Obligation* of *That Covenant*, in Order to the *Security* of the *Government*: But None at all, of *Leaguing* your selves in a *Conspiracy*, for the

the *Subversion of it.* Where was your *Tenderness*, in *Suspected* Cases, when, to Encourage *Rapine*, *Sacriledge*, and *Rebellion*, was the Common Business of your *Counsels*, and *Pulpits*? When it was *safer* to *Deny* the *Trinity*, then to *Refuse* the *Covenant.* When the *same Persons*, that started at a *Ceremony*, made no Scruple at all, of Engaging the Kingdom in *Blood*; and laying *Violent Hands* upon their *Sovereign.* Is not This, *Streining at a Gnat, and swallowing a Camel?*

Disc. of Relig. Part 1. *N. C. The* **Non-Conformists**, *I know, are charged with Principles, that detract from Kingly Power; and Tend to advance Popular Faction. It is true, They have been* **Eager Asserters** *of* **Legal Liberties.** Pag. 40. **But These are Things gone and Past, and Nothing to our Present Purpose.** Ibid. *The Wise Man says,* **He that repeateth a Matter, separateth very Friends.** *A looking back to former Discords, mars the most hopeful Redintegration. Acts of* **Indemnity**, *are Acts of* **Oblivion** *also, and must be so observed.* Pa. 41.

C. The *Non-Conformists* (The Sole Actors in the late War) were only *Eager Asserters* (it seems) of *Legal Liberties.*:

berties: You do not deal ſo Gingerly with the *Biſhops*, in the Point of *Ceremonies*, as to let them come off, with the Character of *Eager Aſſertors* of *Legal Authorities*. So that herein alſo, *Your Conſciences ſtumble at Straws, and leap over Blocks.*

Now, Whereas You will have it, that a Reflection upon *former Diſcords*, is a Violation of the Act of *Indemnity*; And Impertinent to Our Purpoſe: My Anſwer is; *Firſt*, That I do not revive the Memory of *former Diſcords* as a *Reproach*; But I make uſe of ſome Inſtances out of former Paſſages, to make Good my Aſſertion: That Your *Conjunct Importunity* for a *Toleration*, is not grounded upon *Conſcience*. And to ſhew you, that your Practiſes, and Profeſſions grin One upon Another. For *Conſcience is all of a Piece*; Not *Tender*, and *Delicate* on the *One* ſide, and *Callous*, and *Unfeeling*, on the *Other*.

Secondly, Suppoſe We ſhould make a little Bold with the Act of *Oblivion*: I think We have as much right to do it, as You have to fall foul upon the Act of *Uniformity*. Unleſs you conceive, that the Mercy you have received by One Law, gives You a Privilege of Invading all

all the rest. As to Authority; it is One and the Same in Both; and if there were any place for Complaint against the Equity of a Legal Establishment, it would lie much Fairer against the Act of *Indemnity*. on the behalf of the *Royallists*, (that have ruined their Estates and Families in the Defence of the Law; and yet after all, are thereby condemned to sit down in Silence, and Despair) Then against the Act of *Uniformity*, on the Behalf of the *Non-Conformists*; Who by the *One Law*, are secured in the Profits of their late *Disobedience*; And by the *Other*, are taken into the Arms of the *Church*, according to the *Ancient*, and *Common Rule*, with the Rest of His Majesties *Protestant Subjects*: The Same Rule, I say; saving where it is Moderated with *Abatements*, and *Allowances*, in Favour of Pretended *Scruples*.

N. C. **Whereas you make the** *Non-Conformists* **the** *Sole Actors* **in Our** *late Confusions*, **You run your self upon a great Mistake:** For——*It hath been manifested to the World, by such as Undertook to Justifie it, when Authority should require*, [**That the Year before the King's Death, A Select Number of** *Jesuits* **being sent from their** *whole Party* in

Disc. of Relig. Part 1.

in England, Consulted both the Faculty of *Sorbonne*, and the Pope's Council at *Rome*, touching the *Lawfulness* and *Expediency*, of Promoting the Change of Government, *by making away the King*, Upon They Despaired to turn from his Heresie: It was Debated, and Concluded, in *Both Places*, That for the Advancement of the *Catholick Cause*, It was *Lawful*, and *Expedient* to Carry on that Alteration of State. This Determination was effectually pursued by many *Jesuits*, that came over, and Acted their Parts in several Disguises. Pag. 15.

C. If This be *True*, and *Proveable*; (as You affirm it is) You cannot do the *Protestant Cause* a more Important Service, then to make it out to the *Parliament*: *Who* (You know) *have judg'd the Matter Worthy of their Search, and have appointed a Committee to receive Informations.* Pa. 2. Nay, which is more, You are a Betrayer of the Cause if you do it not. *The WHOLE PARTY in England*, do you say? *Prove but This, and you kill the whole Popish Party at a Blow.* Disc. of Relig. Part 1.

This was *the Year before the King's Death*, it seems: Whas not That within the

the Retrospect of the Act of *Indemnity*? If so, tell me I beseech you, Why may not *We* take the same Freedom with the *Non-Conformists*, that *You* do with the *Papists*?

N. C. **We shall never have done, if you lash out thus upon Digressions. Pray keep to the Question.**

C. As close as you please. What if a Man should shew You a Considerable Number, of the Eminent, and Active *Instruments in the late War*, to be now in the Head of the present Outcry for *Toleration*? (Take This into your Supposition too, that *These very Persons* promoted Our Troubles, *This very Way*; and Proceeded from the *Reformation* of *Discipline*, to the *Dissolution* of *Government*) Are We bound in Charity to take all their *Pretensions* of *Scruple* for *real Tenderness* of *Conscience*?

N. C. **Beyond all Question; unless you can either Evidence their** *Error* **to be** *Unpardonable*, **or the** *Men Themselves*, *Impenitent*.

De Conscientiâ, lib. 4. cap. 15.

C. Why then let *Amesius* determine betwixt Us. [*Peccata illa, quæ publicè fuerunt nota, debent etiam Confessione Publicâ damnari; quiâ ad quos malum ipsum Exempli Contagione pervenerat, ad eos etiam*

etiam Pœnitentiæ, ac Emendationis Documentum, si fieri possit, det transmitti.] *PUBLIQUE SINS* require *PUBLIQUE CONFESSION*; To the End, that as many as were *misled* by the *Example*, may be *set right* again by the *Retraction*, and *Repentance*. This Conclusion pronounces All Those of *the old stamp*, that abused the People *formerly*, under Colour of *Conscience*; and are now at Work *again*, upon the *same Pretext*, without a *Publique Recantation*, to be in a State of *Impenitency*: and gives Us reasonably to presume, that if their *Consciences* can *Swallow*, and *Digest* a *Rebellion*, There is no great Danger of their being *Choak'd* with a *Ceremony*.

Another Thing is This; You do not plead for *Particular Judgments*; (In which Case, a Plea of *Conscience* may be allowed) But *every Man* urges the Equity (in Effect) of a *Toleration* for *all the Rest*. In which Number, You your selves do, severally, and jointly, acknowledge, that there are a great many People of *Insociable* and *Intolerable Principles*; such as in *Conscience* are not to be admitted. And yet herein also, You profess to be guided by Impulses of *Tenderness*, and *Piety*; although in Opposition to the whole Course of

of your former *Declarations*, and *Proceedings*, that rise up in Judgment against You.

N. C. If you grant, that there may be a Plea for *Particulars*, I shall not much trouble my self about *Generals*.

C. That Point shall come on in due time. But let us look a little further yet, into the *General Cause*; for if it be not *Conscience*, it is *Confederacy*.

SECT. XIII.

The Conjunct Importunity *of the* Non-Conformists *for a* Toleration, *is a Manifest* CONFEDERACY.

C. THis appears, *First*, from the *Method* of their Proceedings; *Secondly*, from the Natural *Prospect*, and *Tendency* of that *Method*; *Thirdly*, from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of their *Demands*, and *Arguments*; *Fourthly*; from the *Way*, and *Manner* of their *Addresses*, and *Applications*; *Lastly*; from their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Consequence* upon the *Peace* of the *Government*.

As to their *Method*; The *Non-Conformists*

formists of *This Age* tread in the very steps of their *Predecessors*: and This you may observe throughout the whole History of Them; even from the first time that ever the Pretence of Popular Reformation set foot in his Majesties Dominions, unto This Instant. This is not a Place for a Deduction of Particulars at length; But a Touch from Point to Point, will not be much amiss. Wherefore, if you please, Give me a Brief Accompt of the *Non-Conformists*. First, *What kind of People they are*; Secondly, *What It is They would have*; Thirdly, *What will the Kingdom be the better for Granting their Desires?* Fourthly, *What are their Grievances*, as the Case stands with them at present? Fifthly, *What are they for* Number, *and* Resolution?

N. C. They are a People Zealous of Religion, Pa. 43. *An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men, and Numerous among all Ranks*, P. 25. * *Peaceable, and Useful in the Commonwealth; Sound in the Faith; Men of Conscience; Evident Opposers of all Errors Pernicious to the Souls of Men, and of an Evil Aspect upon the Publique Peace.* Disc. of Relig. Pars 1. * Indulg. & Toler. p. 7.

C. Very Good: And were not the

Spotswoods Hist. Scot. p 320, 322. Conspirators that Seiz'd King *James*, at *Ruthven*, (1582.) as much as all This amounts to? If You will believe either *Themselves*, or the *Assembly* at *Edinburgh* in their behalf.

Petition to the Queen, p. 15. The Reforming *Non-Conformists* under Queen *Elizabeth* were *Unreprovable before all* Men; *Her Majesties most Loyal Subjects, and God's Faithful Servants*:

Gilby. [*Most Worthy, Faithful, and Painful Ministers*; *Modest, Watchful, Knowing in the Scriptures, and of Honest Conversation*; (*Learned, and Godly*; says the *Admonitioner*, Pa. 25. And *Martin Senior* calls them, *The Strength of Our Land*, and *the Sinew of her Majesties Government*.

King's large Declar. p. 66. The *Scotch Covenanters*, in 1638. outdid All This, for *Zeal to his Majesties Person, and Authority*: *The True Religion, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom.*

Ex. Coll. i p. 498. And the *Two Houses* at *Westminster*, In 1642. come not behind Them, in their Professions, for *the Defence, and Maintenance of the True Religion*; *The King's Person, Honour, and Estate, and the Just Rights, and Liberties of the Subject.*

Here's Your *Character*: Now to Your *Demands*, What is it You would have?

N. C.

N. C. (a) *A Reformation of Church-Government, Liturgy, and Ceremonies.* (b) *A Bearing with weak Consciences:* (c) and *A Relaxation of the Prescribed Uniformity.*

(a) Two Papers of Proposals, pa. 5. (b) Petition for Peace, p. 20. (c) Disc. of Relig. Preface. Ex. Col. 19.

C. And This you will find to have been the Constant Pretence of the *Non-Conformists*, if you Consult their Story, from One End to the Other. [*Not to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline, and Government in the Church*; *But to Unburthen the Consciences of Men, of Needless, and Superstitious Ceremonies, Suppress Innovations, and Settle a Preaching Ministry*, &c.

Put the Case now, that you had your *Asking*: *What would the Kingdom be the better for it?*

N. C. It will be the better for the *King, Church, Nobility,* and *Gentry.* [and *there is No Nation under Heaven, wherein such an Indulgence, or Toleration as is desired, would be more Welcome, Useful, Acceptable*; *Or more Subservient to Tranquillity, Trade, Wealth, and Peace.*

Disc. of Relig. Indulg. & Toler. p. 31.

C. Reformation no Enemy to Her Majesty and the State, is the very Title of a Desperate Libel, Printed 1590. against *Both.* And the *Humble Motioner* tells

You, that *it is for the Advantage of the Queen, Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty; That the Wealth and Honour of the Realm will be Encreased by it, &c.*

Ex. Coll. Pa 3. This was the Stile too of Our Reformers, in 1642. *The Securing of the Publique Peace, Safety and Happiness of the*

Ibid. 21. *Realm*; And *the Laying the Foundation, of more Honour, and Happiness, to his Majesty, then ever was Enjoy'd by any of his Royal Predecessors.*——Now speak your *Grievances.*

In'ulg. & Toler. *N.C. We are Excommunicated, Outlawed, Imprison'd. Our Families Starved,* and *Begger'd.* P. 8. *Proceeded against with Outward Punishments, Pecuniary, and*

Disc. of Relig. *Corporal, Nay Death it self.* P. 9. [And all this while *Trade languishes, Rents fall, Money scarce.* P. 26. *Never a greater Separation; Never a more General Dissatisfaction.* P. 27.

C. Pray'e say: Was it ever better, since *Non-Conformists* came into the World?

Spotswoods H.S. Scotl. P. 327. Was not King *James, a Favourer of the Enemies of God's Truth, and of Dissolute Persons? A Discountenancer of Godly Ministers? A Promise-Breaker to the Church; and a Perverter of the Laws;* Insomuch that *No man could be assured of his Lands, and Life?* Was

Was it any better even under the Celebrated Government of Queen *Elizabeth*? (*a*) There were *Citations*, *Degradings*, and *Deprivations*. (*b*) *Some in the Marshalsey*; *Some in the White-Lion*; *Some in the Gate-house at Westminster*; *Others in the Counter*, *Or in the Clinke*, *Or in Bride-well*, *Or in Newgate*. [*How many Good Mens Deaths have the Bishops been the Cause of? How many have they driven to leave the Ministry, and live by Physique? Or to leave their Countrey?* [*Poor Men have been miserably handled, with Revilings, Deprivations, Imprisonments, Banishments: and Out of This Realm, they have all the best Reformed Churches through Christendom against them.* [*If This Persecution be not provided for, great Trouble will come of it.*

(*a*) Petition to her Majesty, p. 25.
(*b*) Second Admoni. P. 37.
Ibid. p. 25.
First Admonit. p. 2.
Second Admonit.

How your Party demean'd Themselves toward the *Late King*, of Blessed Memory, in the matter of *Calumny*, and *Reproach*, You may read at large in that Grand, and Infamous Libel; *The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, Decemb. 15. 1642.

P 59.
Ex. Coll. P. 3.

But after all This; What are these People, for *Number*, and *Resolution*, that make such a Clutter?

Indulg. & Tolerat. *N. C.* **Thousands** *of the Upright of the Land.* **Petition for Peace,** Pag. 21.] **Multitudes Dissent,** *and* **Resolve to Continue to doing**; *Whatever they suffer for it.* Pa. 20. *And to forego the utmost of their Earthly Concernments, rather then to Live and Die in an Open Rebellion to the Commanding Light of God in their Consciences.* —*To Ruine Men in their* **Substantials** *of* BODY, *and* LIFE, *for* **Ceremonies**; *is a Severity, which* ENGLISHMEN *will not, long time, by any means, give Countenance unto.* Pa. 23. [*To Execute* **Extremity** *upon an Intelligent, Sober, and Peaceable Sort of Men, so* **Numerous** *among all Ranks, may prove Exceeding* **Difficult, unless it be Executed by such Instruments as may strik Terrour into the whole Nation.** P. 25.

Disc. of Relig. Pars 1.

C. Was not Queen *Elizabeth* told of Thousands, *and* Hundreds of Thousands, *that sighed for the* Holy Discipline? *And that since neither Parliament, nor Convocation-house would take it into Consideration, They might blame Themselves, if it came in by* such Means, as would make all their Hearts Ake? *The Truth will prevail* (says the *Demonstrator*) *in spight of your Teeth, and all the Adversaries of it.* The

The most Unnatural, Causeless; and Horrible Rebellion, that This, or (perhaps) any other Age in the World hath been Acquainted with (To borrow the Words of his Late Majesty) was *Profaced* with a *Petition in the Name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants, of* Edinburgh, *against the* Service-Book: *And Another, in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers, and Burgesses, against the* Service-Book, *and* Book of Canons; *Protesting* afterwards, *that if any Inconvenience should fall out, by reason of Pressing those Innovations, it was not to be imputed to Them, that sought all Things to be Reformed by Order.* Large Declaration, p. 53. Ibid. p. 41, 42. Ibid. p. 52.

This Commotion in *Scotland*, led the Way to Our succeeding Broils in *England*; Which were promoted by the like Artifices. Great Numbers *of his Majesties Subjects, Oppress by Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings; and* Many Thousands *of Tradesmen, and Artificers, Empoverish't by a Generality, and Multiplicity of Vexations.* [Great Numbers *of Learned, and Pious Ministers Suspended, Deprived, and Degraded.* In fine, from *Pamphlets*, they advanced to *Petitions*; from *Petitions*, to *Tumults*; and from thence, into a Formal State of *War*. Ex Coll. p. 8. Ibid. p. 9.

N. C. So that from This *Agreement* in *Method*, You will pretend to Infer a *Conformity* of *Design*.

C. From This *Agreement* in *Method*; and from the *Natural Tendency of This Method*, I think a Man may honestly Conclude, it can be Nothing else: and I doubt not, but upon a Sober Examination of the Matter, I shall find You of the same Opinion.

The most *Sacred* of all *Bonds* is That of *Government*, next to That of *Religion*; and the Reverence which we owe to *Humane Authority*, is Only Inferior to That which we owe to *God Himself*. This being duly Weighed, and that the *Lesser Obligation* must give place to the *Greater*. (As for Instance) *Reason of State*, to Matter of *Religion*, and *Humane Laws* to the *Law Divine*: What has any Man more to do, for the Embroyling of a Nation, but first to Puzzle the Peoples Heads with *Doubts*, and *Scruples*, about their Respective Duties to *God*, and *Man*; and then, to Possess them, that *This*, or *That Political Constitution*, has no Foundation in the *Holy Scriptures*? To bid Them *stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them Free*, Galat. 5. 1.

And

And Finally, to Engage the *Name* of *God*, and the *Credit* of *Religion* in the Quarrel?

N. C. **And do not you your self believe it** *better to Obey God, then Man?*

C. Yes; but I think it best of all to *Obey Both:* To Obey *God*, for *Himself*, in *Spirituals*; and *Man*, for *God's sake*, in *Temporals*, as He is *God's Commissioner*. But tell me; Are you not Convinced, that the most likely way in the World to stir up *Subjects* against their *Prince*, is To Proclaim the *Iniquity* of his *Laws*, and then to Preach *Damnation* upon *Obedience?*

N. C. **What if it be? Does it follow, because** *Religion* **may be made a Cloak for a** *Rebellion*, **That, therefore, It is never to be Pleaded for a** *Reformation?*

C. Truly I have seldom known a *Conscientious Reformation*, accompanied with the Circumstances of Our Case. Here is, *first*, a *Character* of the *Non-Conformists*, drawn by *their own Hand*; and set off with such Flourishes of *Purity*, and *Perfection*, as if the *Scribes and Pharisees Themselves* had sit for their *Picture*. In the *Second Place*, You demand, partly, a *Reformation*; partly, a *Toleration*: And Matth. 23. v. 23, 24.

in

in the *Third*, You assure Us, that *all England shall be the better for't.* (Of These Two Points hereafter.) In the *Fourth*, You enlarge upon your *Grievances*; and instead of applying to the *Government*, on the behalf of the *People*, You are clearly upon the Strein of *Appeal* to the *People* from the Rigour of the *Government*. Your *Text* is *Liberty of Conscience*; But the *Stress* of your *Discourse* lies upon *the Liberty of the Subject*: The *Decay* of *Trade*, *Scarcity* of *Money*, *Fall* of *Rents*, The *Substantials* of *BODY*, and *LIFE*, *Imprisonment*, *&c.* Upon the Whole; Your Writings want nothing but *Form*, of *a Direct Indictment of King and Parliament for Persecution, and Tyranny*; And would very well bear the *Translation* of their *being led on by the Instigation of the Devil, Not having the Fear of the Lord before their Eyes.* If You can defend this manner of Proceeding, pray do it.

Disc. of Relig. *N. C. What can be of greater Concernment to Governours, then to Discern, and Consider the State of their People, as it is indeed? And Why may it not be Minded of Subjects, and spoken of, without any Hint, or Thought of* Rebellion? Pag. 27.

C. But

C. But What can be of greater *Mischief* to *Governours*, then under Colour of *Remonstrating* to *Them*, the *State of their People*, at the Same time, to *disaffect* the *People*, by an Odious Accompt of the *Errors*, *Misfortunes*, and *Calamities* of the *Government*? *Governours are not to be told their Faults in the Market-Place*; Neither are *Ministers of the Gospel*, by your own Rules, to be admitted for *Privy-Counsellors*. This is spoken as to the *Good Office* of your *Information*.

As to the *Intention* of it, I am not so bold, as to Judge your *Thoughts*: But if You had *any Drift at all* in it, and *Consider'd* what You *did*, I do not see, how You can acquit your self of *Evil Meaning*. *Suppose the Whole Invective True*; And that you *suffer for Righteousness*. (to make the Fairest of it) What *Effect* do you expect these Discourses may have upon the *People*? and *What* upon the *Magistrate*? Will not every Man conclude, that the *English* are the Wretchedst *Slaves* upon the Face of the Earth? Neither *Liberty of Religion*, nor of *Person*, for any Man that makes *a Conscience of his Ways*: The Whole Nation, Groaning under *Beggery*, and *Bondage*. Now *see What Effects these Impressions may reasonably*

sonably produce; and Those Effects are as reasonably to be taken for the Scope of your Intention.

Turn now to the *Magistrate*, and say; What Proportion do you find betwixt these Rude *Disobligations upon* the *Government*, and the Returns of *Grace*, and *Favour* You desire so Earnestly *from* it? On the Other Side; if your *Report* be *False*, Your *Design* appears still to be *the same*; Only with the Aggravations, of more *Animosity*, and *Malice* in *Pursuance* of it. But *True*, or *False*, it is Nothing at all to the Business of *Toleration*, but a *Palpable Transition* from matter of *Conscience*, to matter of *State*.

This is the Course, in General, of Our Advocates for *Toleration*; and by the Desperate Sallies, they make, from *Religion*, to *Government*, in their *Pamphlets*, A Man may guess what it is they would be at in their *Pulpits*.

N. C. Oppression makes a Wiseman mad; and 'tis not Generous to Descant upon every thing, that is bolted in *Heat*, and *Passion*, as if it were a formed Discourse, upon *Deliberation*, and *Counsel*.

C. But is it not a strange thing (my Good Friend) for so many Men to be

Mad

Mad at a Time; and to be *Mad the Same Way too*? If you will have it, that they mean just *Nothing at all*, I am content; But if they mean *any thing*, and all agree in the *same Meaning*; It can be nothing else but a *Confederacy*.

The next Point makes it yet more Evident; that is to say, The Marshalling of their *Numbers*, and their *Thousands*; The Boast of their *Interest*, in all Parties, and of the *Difficulty* to *Suppress* them: The *Proclamation* of their *Resolution* to Live and Die in defence of their *Opinions*, with an *Innuendo* of the *Magistrates* Meddling with them *at their Peril*. What can be the End of this *Rhodomontade*; but to startle the *Government*, on the One Side, and to animate the *Multitude*, on the Other? It is no Argument at all for an *Indulgence*, that they are *Many*, *Powerful*, and *Resolute*; But point blank against it: Unless they can approve themselves to be *Regular*, *Governable*, and *Honest*. To Sum up all; Here are *Faults* found in the *Government*; and the *People* Tamper'd into a *Dislike* of it; So that here's a *Disposition* to a Change, wrought *already*.

No sooner is the *Multitude* perswaded of the *Necessity* of a *Reformation*; but behold

behold the *Manner* of it; It muſt be either by a *Thorough-Alteration*, a *Comprehenſion*, a *Toleration*, or a *Connivence*. And for the Principal Undertakers, You may put your Lives in their Hands; for (if they do not ſlander Themſelves) They are as *Godly*, an *Intelligent Sort of People*, as a Man ſhall ſee in a Summers Day. Now, for the *Introducing* of This *Reformation*, there is no way, but *to ſet up the Word of God, againſt the Law of the Land*: By the *Un-Biſhopping of Timothy, and Titus*; and giving the People a Sight
Acts 5.38. of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, and *Gamaliel's Dilemma*, through a Pair of *Reforming Spectacles*; By which, they diſcover the *Divine Right* of *Presbytery*, with One Eye; and *That* of *Univerſal Toleration* with the Other; and ſo become *One* in the *Common Cauſe* of Maintaining *Goſpel Worſhip*, againſt *Humane Inventions*.

The next Care is, to Gratifie the *Common People*; for there's nothing to be done, till they come; and there is no Reaſon in the World, that the poor Wretches ſhould Venture Soul, Life, and Eſtate, *Gratis*! This is Effected, by the Doctrine of *Liberty of Conſcience*. For Grant but every Man a *Right*, of *Acting*, according to the *Dictate* of his *Conſcience*, and

and he has Consequently, a *Liberty* of *Doing* Whatsoever he shall pretend to be according to *That Dictate*; And of *Refusing* to do, whatsoever he shall say is *against* it: By which Invention, *the Laws of the Kingdom* are subjected to *the Pretended Consciences of the People*; and the *Multitude* are made the *Judges* of the *Controversie*.

Now comes in the *Joynt-Struggle* of the *Non-Conformists* for a *Toleration*. *This*, if it may be *obtain'd*, puts them in a Capacity of doing the *Rest*, *Themselves*. But in Case of *Opposition*, Their last Resort is to a *Muster* of their *Forces*; A Computation of their *Strength*, and *Interests*; Which is the Very same Thing, as if they should say, in so many Syllables; *Gentlemen*; *You see the Parliament does not Regard Us*: *We have a Good Cause*, *and Hands enow to do the Work*, *in spight of their Hearts*: *UP AND BE DOING*. After This; There wants Nothing, but the Word, *The Sword of the Lord*, *and of Gideon*, To Crown the Enterprize. If *This* be not a *Conspiracy*, tell me *What Is*.

N. C. You say, It is; and We deny it.

C. There are strong Presumptions also of

of a *Confederacy*, to be gathered from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of your *Demands*. You desire a *Comprehension*, a *Toleration*; But then you place the *Conditions* of it, out of the Reach of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Cognizance*. (as is shew'd already) So that No Body knows, who are to be *Comprehended*, and who *left out*. This looks, as if your Business were rather to *enflame* the Difference, then to *compose* it. And then, when you are prest to *Name*, and Specifie the *Parties* you plead for; (since by your own Confession, several are to be Excluded) You fly still to the *Generalities*, of *Important Interests*, and *Congruous Principles*, and so leave the Matter utterly uncapable of any Clear, and Logical Result; Unless you will allow *Governours* the *Inspection* of their *Subjects Hearts*: Or Teach us how to Reduce *Wild*, and *Uncertain Notions*, under the Prospect of a *Steady Law*. But the Reason of your Dealing thus in the dark, I suppose may be This: Your *Design* is to be carry'd on under the *Countenance* of the *Common Cause*, wherein, all those Persons are *United* against the *Government*, that would otherwise spend their *Animosities*, *One* upon *Another*, and break into a thousand Pieces among Themselves.

selves. Now for you to declare *for* any *One Party*, were Virtually, to *declare against* all the Rest, and Dissolve the *Combination*.

Touching the *Manner* of their *Addresses*, I shall only add, (to what is past) that they are *Invectives*, *against* those that *cannot* relieve them, without any *Formal Application* to those that *can*: And tend Naturally to the *Tumultuating* of the *People*, without any Colour of Contributing to their *Benefit*.

Of their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Consequence*, enough is spoken already, to put it past all Contradiction, That *Their Conjunct Importunity for a Toleration, is a Manifest CONFEDERACY*. Wherefore let us now proceed from the *Drift*, and *Design* of their *Pretensions*, to the *Morality*, and *Reason* of Them.

SECT. XIV.

The Non-Conformists Joynt Pretences FOR *A* Toleration, *overthrown, by the Evidence of their* Joynt-Arguments, Professions, *and* Practises AGAINST *it.*

C. DO *as you would be done by*, is the Precept, both of *Gospel*, and *Nature*. With what face then, can you *ask* a *Toleration* from *That Government*, which of all Others, your selves *refused* to *Tolerate*? From *That Prince*, to whose Blessed *Father* (in the Depth of his Agonies) you cruelly deny'd the *Use*, and *Service* of his own *Chaplains*? [A greater Rigour, and Barbarity, then is ever used by *Christians* to the *Meanest Prisoners*, and *Greatest Malefactors*. But They that Envy my being a *King*, are loth I should be a *Christian*; While they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul. These are the Words of that Pious Prince in his last Extremity.

'Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, p. 207.

N. C. That Rigour was the Barbarism

barism of a *Faction*, Not the Principles of the *Party*.

C. Hear your *Party* speak then. [*It is much, that our Brethren should* separate *from the Church; but that they should endeavour to get a* Warrant, *to* Authorize *their* Separation *from it, and to have Liberty* (*by drawing Members out of it*) *to Weaken, and Diminish it, till,* (*so far as lies in them*) *they have brought it to Nothing; This we think to be plainly* Unlawfuf. *London* Ministers Letter to the Assembly, *Jan.* 1. 1645.

Toleration *would be the Putting the Sword in a Madman's hand; A Proclaiming Liberty to the Wolves, to come into Christ's Flock to Prey upon his Lambs.* Harmony of the *Lancashire* Ministers. p. 12.

Extirpate all Achans, *with* Babylonish Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Gestures; *Let them be rooted out from among Us. You of the Honourable House*, Up; *for the Matter belongs to You.* We, *even* **All the Godly Ministers of the Country, will be with You.** Mr. *Faircloth*, on *Josh.* 7. 25.

Toleration *makes the Scripture a Nose of Wax: A Rule of Faith to all Religions.* *Rutherford's* Free Disp. p. 360.

Liberty of Conscience, *and* Toleration *of all, or any Religion, is so Prodigious an Impiety, that this Religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very Naming of it.* *Baily's* Dissuasive Epist Ded. 1645.

Sion-house to the Assembly, 1645. Anti-Toleration, p. 16.

Such a Toleration *is utterly repugnant to, and Inconsistent with the Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation.*

It is unreasonable (says the Defender of the *London Ministers* Letter to the Assembly) *that* Independents *should desire That* Toleration *of* Presbyters, *which they would not* give *to* Presbyters. For **With what face can I desire a Courtesie from Him, to whom I do openly profess, I would deny the same Courtesie?** Does not this hold as well for Us, as it did for You?

N. C. **You must not Impose the Judgments of** *Particular Persons* **upon Us, as Instances of** *Publique Authority.*

C. What do ye think then of your *National Covenant?* Was *That* an Act of *Authority?* Wherein you bind Your selves by an *Oath*, to settle *an Uniform Presbytery, to the Exclusion of all other Forms of Church-Order*, or *Government whatsoever*; (under the Notion of *Schism*) and of *Prelacy* by *Name?* Are your *Consciences F O R Toleration* Now, that were so much *A G A I N S T* it *Then?* Nay; there are many among you, that reckon your selves under an *Obligation*, to pursue the *Ends* of that *Covenant*, even to this

this very Day? And do you think it Reaſonable, for a Government to grant *Privileges*, and *Advantages* of *Power*, and *Credit*, to a Party, that owns it ſelf under an *Oath of Confederacy* to endeavour the *Extirpation* of it?

N. C. **You mean I ſuppoſe of** *Church-Government.*

C. I mean of Both *Church*, and *State*. Was it not the Teſt of the *King's Enemies*, as well as of the *Biſhops*? Was it not made *Death without Mercy*, for any Man, having taken the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to adhere to his *Majeſty*? *The League and Covenant* (ſays *Rutherford*) *was the firſt Foundation of the Ruine of the Malignant Party in* England. And whoever refuſes to *Diſclaim* it, muſt be rationally underſtood, ſtill to Drive on the *Intent* of it. So that to *Tolerate* the *Non-Conformiſts*, is to *Tolerate* the *Sworn Adverſaries*, both of *Royal*, and *Epiſcopal Authority*: Nay, to *Tolerate Thoſe* that have Sworn to *perſiſt* in that Oppoſition, all the Days of their Lives; Over and above the *Tolerating* of thoſe upon *Pretence* of *Conſcience FOR* a *Toleration*, that *deny* to *Tolerate* all other People, upon as ſtrong a Pretence of *Conſcience AGAINST* it.

The Kirks Teſtimony againſt Toleration p. 10.

Where was This Spirit of *Moderation* toward *the weak Brethren*, in the *Total Suppression* of the Book of *Common Prayer*; and the *Imposing* of the *Directory*, to be Observed *in all the Churches within This Kingdom*? [No *Ruling Elders*, but such as have taken the *National Covenant*. No *Electors* of *Elders* neither, (by the Ordinance of *March* 14. 1645.) but such as have taken the *National Covenant*. [No *Ordination*, without a *Testimonial* of having taken the *Covenant* of the Three Kingdoms. None to be Admitted, or Entertained in the *Universities*, without taking the Solemn *League and Covenant*, and the *Negative Oath*; and Upon Conditions of *Submission*, and *Conformity* to the *Discipline*, and *Directory*.

Acts and Ordinances, Part 1. p 97.

Ibid. 165.

Ibid. 171.

Nay further: You will find in the *Four Bills*, and *Propositions* sent to his Majesty in the *Isle of Wight*, (*March* 1647.) when the Two Parties, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent* were upon so hard a Tugg; That the *Presbyterian Government*, and *Directory* seem'd to be *resolv'd upon* in *one Line*, and *unsettled* again, in *the very next*. By a Provision: *That no Persons whatsoever should be liable to any Question, or Penalty, for Non Conformity to the Form of Government, and Divine Service ap-*

Pa. 30, 31.

appointed in the Ordinances; (then in Force) *but be at Liberty to Meet for the Worship of God*; *so as nothing might be done to the disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom.* Yet in This *Crisis* of Affairs; they could clap in another stabbing *Proviso* against *It*, upon the neck of That: *i. e.* That *This Indulgence shall not extend to* Tolerate *the Use of* the Book of Common-Prayer, *in any Place whatsoever.* And at this rate, you treated the *Episcopal Party*, throughout the whole Course of your Power.

N. C. **And good Cause for it. Were not they the most likely of all others to disappoint our Settlement?**

C. Agreed. But as to the matter of *Conscience*; Did you *Well*, or *Ill* in't? Or rather, Was there any thing of *Conscience* in the Case?

N. C. **Certainly it was very fit for the** *Civil Power* **to look to it self: And the Power** *Ecclesiastical* **was no less concern'd to exact a Conformity to the Laws, and Ordinances of** *Christ*.

C. How can you say This, and consider what you say, without blushing? If you did *well*, in *Refusing* to *Tolerate* the *Episcopal Way*, because you thought it not *Right*; the Reason is as strong for *Our*

Way, that have the same Opinion of *Yours*: If you did *Well* on the *Other* side, out of a *Political Regard* to the *Publique Peace*, so do *We* now, upon *That very Score*. So that you must either confess, that *You* did *Ill*, *Then*, in *Refusing* a *Toleration* to *Us*; or otherwise allow, that *Authority* does *Well*, *Now*, in not permitting it to *You*.

N. C. **There might be some Plea for a little Strictness more then ordinary, in the Heat of an Eager, and Publique Contention: But methinks a** *Persecution* **in** *Cold Blood*, **does not favour of the Spirit of our** *Profession*.

SECT. XV.

The Non-Conformists JOYNT-COMPLAINTS *of* Hard Measure, *and* Persecution, *confronted with their own* JOYNT-PROCEEDINGS.

C. WHat is it that you call *Hard Measure*, and *Persecution*?

N. C. **Your Unmerciful** *Impositions*, **upon** *Tender Consciences*, **by** *Subscriptions*,

ons, Declarations, &c. There are few Nations under the Heavens of God (as far as I can learn) that have more **Able, Holy, Faithful, Laborious,** *and* **Truly Peaceable** *Preachers of the Gospel, (Proportionably) then Those that are now* **cast out** *in* **England**, *and are like in* **England, Scotland,** *and* **Ireland** *to be* **cast out,** *if the* **Old Conformity** *be still urged.* [*Ours is not a* **Wicked, Prophane, Drunken** *Ministry.* Petition for Peace, p. 4. 1661. Mr. Calamy, Of the Ark, p. 21.

C. That is, by Interpretation: *God We thank Thee, that We are not as other Men are.—Nor even as these Publicans.* But to the Matter.

These People that you speak of, are set aside for *not Obeying* the Law: But What do you think of those, that were turn'd out of their Livings, because they would not *Oppose* it? And they were *dispossest* too, by some of *the present Complainants themselves*: Who first came in at the *Window*, and now are turn'd out at the *Door*. No less then *a Hundred and fifteen* were Ejected here in *London*, within the Bills of Mortality (besides *Paul's* and *Westminster*) And the rest of the Kingdom throughout, was purged after that Proportion. Nor was it thought enough to *Sequester*, unless they *starv'd* them

them too; for they were not allow'd to take the Employment, either of *School-Masters*, or *Chaplains*, but under Heavy *Penalties*. In *South Wales*, the *Gospel* was as well *Persecuted*, as the *Ministry*: The *Churches shut up*, and the People let loose to the Lusts and Corruptions of Unbridled Nature. The Only Pretence of *Justification* that the *Reformers* had, was That *Unchristian*, and *Unmanly Libel*, *WHITE'S CENTURIES of Scandalous Ministers*; wherein, without any Respect, either to *Truth*, or *Modesty*, They have Exposed so many Reverend Names, to *Infamy*, and *Dishonour*, for the better Colour of their own Sacrilegious Usurpations. But take This along with you, that *Loyalty* in those Days past for a Punishable, and Notorious *Scandal*.

N. C. **These were Acts of** *Policy*, **and let** *Statesmen* **answer for them. But to have Men cast out of the Church, because they will not** *Subscribe*, **and** *Declare*, **contrary to their** *Consciences*, **is doubtless a most** *Unconscionable Severity*.

C. And What is it in the *Subscription* (I beseech you) that you stumble at? As to the Acknowledgment of *his Majesties*

jesties Supremacy, I suppose, you would not be thought to stick at That. And in Matters of *Doctrine*, you make Profession to *joyn* with us: So that about *the Lawfulness of using the Book of Common Prayer, and your own Submission to the Use of it*, is the Only Question. Your Exceptions likewise to the *Declarations* seem to be very weakly grounded, unless you make a Scruple of Declaring your selves for the *Uniformity* of the *Church*, Or for the *Peace* of the *Civil Government*: In which Cases you cannot fairly pretend to be trusted in *Either*. But not to Extravagate. You are against the *Imposing* of *Subscriptions*, and *Declarations*, you say.

N. C. **I am against the very** *Imposition it self*, **upon any Terms; But when They are prest upon** *Grievous Penalties*, **They are utterly** *Intolerable*.

C. And yet when the *Common-Prayer* was *abolish't*, There was a *PENALTY*, of *Five Pound*, for the *first* Offence; *Ten* for the *Second*; And a *Years Imprisonment*, without Bail or Mainprize, for the *Third Offence*, upon any Man that should use it. So that Here was an Interdiction of *Our* Way of *Worship* upon a *PENALTY*; and No notice taken of Invading

vading the *Liberty* of *Our Consciences*. By the same Ordinance, of *August* 23. 1645. was also commanded the Exercise and Order of the *Directory*; and *That* upon a *FORFEITURE* too: With a *PENALTY*, from *Five Pound* to *Fifty*, upon any Man, that should Preach, Write, or Print any thing to the Derogation of it. Now Here was *Rigor*, you see, on *Both Sides*: But no *Clamor*, upon the Matter of *Conscience* in *This Case* neither.

How many of Our Ministers were Poyson'd in *Peter-House*, And *Other Prisons*, either for *Worshipping according* to their *Consciences*, or *refusing* to Act *against* Them! No Man was admitted to his Composition without *SWEARING*; No Man to live in the Parliaments Quarters without *SWEARING*.

Neither were We only debarr'd the *Common Rights* of *Subjects*, and the *Benefits* of *Society*: But the *Comforts* of *Religion* were denied Us; And an *Anathema* pronounced upon Us for Our *Fidelity*. The *General Assembly* in *Scotland* Ordain'd, *That known Compliers with the Rebells, and such as Procured Protections from the Enemy; or kept Correspondence, or Intelligence with Him, should be* Suspended

ded *from the* Lord's Supper, *till they manifested their Repentance before the Congregation.* [*Gillespy's Useful Cases of Conscience*, Pag. 19, 20.] His late Majesty, in his *Large Declaration* of the Affairs of *Scotland*, Pag. 199. tells you, That *Men were beaten, turn'd out of their Livings, Reviled, Excommunicated, Proceſs'd, for* NOT SUBSCRIBING *the Covenant.* And again, *Pa.* 202. That *there was an* OATH *given at a* Communion *at* Fife, *Not to take* the King's Covenant, *Nor* any other, *but their* own. Now, hear the *Commissioners* of the *General Assembly, July* 25. 1648. *His Majestie's* Concessions, *and* Offers, *from the* Isle of Wight, *are to be by the Parliament Declared* Unsatisfactory; *Unless his Majesty give Assurance by* SOLEMN OATH, *under his Hand, and Seal, for Settling* Religion *according to the* Covenant; *before his Restitution to his Royal Power,*

But that I am loth to overcharge you, I could give you the History of the *Spiritting* several Persons of Honour for *Slaves*; *The Sale of Three or Four Score Gentlemen to the* Barbadoes; beside *Plunders, Decimations*, and infinite other Outrages, both Publique, and Private.

Give

Give me leave to mind you now a little of some few of Your General Provisions for the Destruction of the *King's Party*, and the Extirpation of that *Family*, and *Government* to which Providence has once again Subjected you.

(a) Scob. Acts, Part 2. P 37. (b) P.135. (c) Part 2. P.10. (d) P.175. (e) P.372.

(a) *An Ordinance for Sequestration of Delinquents Estates.* (b) *Delinquents Disabled to bear any Office, or have any Vote in Election of any Major, &c.* Here's *Estate*, and *Legal Freedom* gone already: Now follows *Banishment* from One Place, and *Confinement* to Another. (c) *Delinquents must be removed from* London *and* Westminster, *and Confined within five Miles of their own Dwelling.* (d) *Correspondency with* Charles Stuart, *or his* Party, *prohibited, under Pain of* High Treason; and (e) *Death to any Man, that shall attempt the Revival of his Claims, or that shall be Aiding, Assisting, Comforting, or Abetting, unto any Person endeavouring to set up the Title of Any of the* Issue *of the* Late King.

Where were the *ABLE, HOLY, FAITHFUL, LABORIOUS,* and *TRULY PEACEABLE Preachers of the Gospel, with the Tender Consciences* you talk of, when These Things were a Doing? Truly, Neither Better

Better nor Worse, then up to the very Ears, a great many of them, in the Main Action. Some, Preaching up the *Conscience* of the War; Others, Wheedling the City out of their *Money* to *Maintain* it; and Calling for more *Blood* in *Prosecution* of it. Till in the Conclusion, The *King*, and the *Government*, fell in the *Quarrel*: And the *Pulpits* all this while at hand, to *Patronize* the *Reformation*.

N. C. **This Ripping up of Old Stories, does but widen the Breach, without doing any Good at all.**

C. If you would not *hear* of these things again, you should not *do* them again.

N. C. **Then it seems the** *Whole* **must suffer for some** *Particulars*.

C. No, not so. But neither must the *Whole* go *Scot-free* for some *Particulars*. Would you have me open my Door to a Troop of Thieves, because there are four or five Honest Men in the Company? That there are divers *Conscientious*, and well-minded Men among the *Non-Conformists*, I make no Question. But I am yet Positive in This, that the *Non-Conformists*, in *Conjunction*, are in a Direct *Conspiracy*; and that when they come

come once to *agree* in a *Publique Complaint*, It is no longer *Conscience*, but *Faction*. This by the By. ——Now to the Matter before Us; I have given you a Breviate of *your own Proceedings*, in the very Case of your Present *Complaints*. Lay your Hand upon your Heart, and bethink your self, who are the *Persecutors*.

N. C. **Let the** *Persecution* **rest where it will; I am fully perswaded, that there is no Settling of this Kingdom in a State of** *Security*, *Peace*, **and** *Plenty*, **without an** *Indulgence*, **or** *Toleration*.

SECT. XVI.

The Non-Conformists *tell us*, *That* Liberty of Conscience *is the* Common Interest *of* This Kingdom; *but* REASON, *and* EXPERIENCE *tell us the* CONTRARY.

C. THat We may not spend our selves in *Repetition*, *Cavil*, or *Confusion*; Take Notice, that 'tis the *General Cause* of the *Non Conformists*, which is coming under Debate. For *That Toleration*

ration which the *Whole Party* desires, must needs be a *Toleration* of the *Whole Party*: And *That* I *Oppose*; in Confidence, that I have *Reason*, and *Experience* on my side. We have spoken already, as to the *Unlawfulness*; and somewhat likewise, to the *Dangerous Consequences* of it: Together with the *Unruly Opinions*, and *Practices* of several of the Pretenders to it. We are now to look a little further into it, with a more Immediate regard to the *Common Interest* of the *Kingdom*, which we may place in the Concernments of *Religion*, *Government*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*.

To begin with *Religion*: I do not Understand, how That which delights in *Unity*, shall be advantaged by *Division*, and *Faction*.

N. C. **As if there could be no** *Unity* **of** *Doctrine*, **without** *Uniformity* **of** *Discipline*. **The Precept is**, *One Lord*, *One Faith*, *One Baptism*: **And not** *One Way*, *One Form of Worship*.

C. I might tell you, that it is of *Ancient*, and *Unreprovable Practice*, for every *National Church* to appoint *its own Platform* of *Service*, and *Ceremonies*; And to require *Obedience*, and *Conformity* to *That Model*, and to *Those Rites* respe-

ctively, from all its Members. But This I ſhall not inſiſt upon. There is *no Precept* (you ſay) for any *One Way*, or *Form*. But can you ſhew me, that an *Uniformity* of *Service*, and *Rituals* is any where *forbidden*?

Diſc. of Relig. Pars 1.

N. C. Not in **Particular**: **But** *in the* **General Prohibition** *of all* **Uncommanded Worſhip**, *Pag.* 26.

C. The Matter in ſhort is This. Either We *have* a *Rule* in the *Goſpel* for the *Manner* of Our *Worſhip*; Or we have *None*. If there be *No way* of *Commanded Worſhip*, left us, by *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*; And all *Uncommanded Worſhip* be (as you ſay) *forbidden*, There muſt be *No appointed Worſhip at all*; and *Then*, every Man is at *Liberty*, Not only to *Worſhip* after what *Manner* he pleaſes, but (effectually) to Chuſe, Whether he'l *Worſhip*, or *No*: Which brings in all ſorts of *Hereſies*, and *Blaſphemies*; and Countenances even *Atheiſm it ſelf*. Now, on the other Hand; If there be any *Particular Manner of Worſhip Preſcribed* in the *Word of God*; from *That Particular Manner*, we muſt not preſume to Vary, by a *Toleration* of any *other Way* then *That*; or of *More*, then *One*. Beſides, that it undermines the

Foun-

Foundation of all *Communities*, to deny the *Civil Authority* a Right of Interposing in such Cases, as are Neither *Commanded*, nor *Forbidden*, by *God*.

Let us next Consider the *Probable Effects* of a *Toleration*, in respect of the *Parties* pretending to it. Which are, either *Presbyterian*; Or (in a Sense of Contradistinction) *Independent*. The *Former* are for a *Subordination* in Churches. The *Other* for an *Independency*: (according to their *Denomination*) *These* are for *Gather'd Congregations*; The *Other*, for *Parochial*.

I will not trouble you with the Argumentative Part of the Differences betwixt them; About the *Subordination*, or *Co-ordination* of *Churches*; The *Redundance*, or *Defect* of *Church-Officers*; The *Receptacle* of *the Power of the Keys*, and the like: But Nakedly, and Briefly, shew you the *Kindness* they have for *One Another*; The Regards they have for *Christian Charity*, in the Menage of the Quarrel; and Then leave you your self to Judge, what may be the *Event* of such a *Toleration*, as to *RELIGION*.

The *Sectaries* (says *Edwards* in his *Gangræna*) agree with *Julian* the *Apo-*

state, P. 54.] They are *Libertines*, and *Atheists*, P. 185.] *Unclean*, *Incestuous*, P. 187.] *Drunkards*, P. 190.] *Sabbath-Breakers*, *Deceivers*, P. 191.] Guilty of *Gross Lying*, *Slandering*, *Juggling*, *Falsifying their Words and Promises*: Excessive *Pride*, and *Boasting*, P. 192.] *Insufferable Insolences*, *Horrible Affronts to Authority*, P. 194.] There never was a more *Hypocritical*, *False*, *Dissembling*, *Cunning* Generation in *England*, then many of the *Grandees* of those *Sectaries*.—They Encourage, Protect, and Cry up for *Saints*, Sons of *Belial*, and the *Vilest* of *Men*, P. 240. *Gangrana's Second Part*, 1646. —See Now the *Other Party* doe as much for the *Presbyterians*.

The Presbyterian Government is *Anti-Christian*, *Tyrannical*, *Lordly*, *Cruel*, a worse *Bondage* then under the *Prelates*; A *Bondage* under *Task-Masters*, as the *Israelites* in *Ægypt*: A *Presumptuous*, *Irregular Consistory*, which hath no Ground in the Word of God. *Barrow*, P. 79.] A *Vexatious*, *Briery*, *Thorny*, *Persecuting Presbytery*. [Pulpit Incendiary, P. 26.] *Formidable to States*, and *Free Kingdoms*. [Mr. *Nye*.] The *Assembly* is *Antichristian*, *Romish*, *Bloody*, the *Plagues*, and *Pests* of the

the Kingdom; *Baal's Priests.* [Gangræna's Second Part, 230.] *The Seed of God in This Nation has had Two Capital Enemies, The* Romish Papacy, *and the* Scotch Presbytery. [*Sterry*'s England's Deliverance, P. 7.] An *Anabaptist* said, that *He hoped to see Heaven and Earth on fire, before* Presbytery *should be settled*; [Edwards his Gangræna.] *Barrow* calls the *Consistorians*, *Dangerous*, and *Pestilent Seducers*; *Ravening Wolves*, which come to Us in *Sheeps Cloathing.*]

This is enough to shew you the Mutual, and Implacable *Enmity*, and *Opposition* of the *Two Grand Parties*, which, you are now perswading your self, might be gratified, by a *Common Indulgence.* Let me further Mind you, that the *Strife* ended not there Neither, but proceeded to *Blood:* And that, so soon, as they had Master'd the *Government*, in a *Combination*, under the Masque of *Reformation*, and *Conscience*; *They parted Interests*, and Upon the Very *same Pretext*, Engaged in a *Second War*; and fell foul, *One* upon the *Other.* Wherein they sufficiently Manifested to the World, that they fought, not for *Forms*, and *Ceremonies*; but for *Booty*, and *Dominion.* No less to the *Scandal* of the *Religion* of *England*,

land, then to the *Ruine* of the *Monarchy*.

N. C. **You are not to stop my Mouth with Instances of** *Tumults*, **and** *Factions*, **in a Peaceable Plea for** *Religion*, **and** *Conscience*.

C. Do not you know, that *Toleration* is as good, as an *Issue* in a Government? *All the Vicious Humours in the whole Body flow that way.* But Suppose it *Conscience*; Are the *Dissenters* ever to be *Reconciled?* Shall we not have *New*, and *Monstrous Opinions* Propagated daily? And will it not be every Man's business, to Advance the Credit, and Authority of his own Party? Where is the *Bond* of *Peace*, in this *Exercise*, and *Latitude* of *Dissention?* The *Unity* of the *Church*, in this *Multiplicity* of *Professions?* Which is the *True Religion*, among so many *divided*, and *contradictory Pretenses* to it? Or rather; Is there *any Religion at all*, where there is neither *Christian Charity*, *Stability* of *Principles*, *Reverence*, or *Agreement*, *in God's Worship?*

N. C. **I hope you will not deny the** *Protestant Interest* **to be the** *Interest* **of the** *True Religion:* **And undoubtedly,** *the bringing of the Protestants into an Union among Themselves, is the Advantage of every*

Liberty of Conse. p. 58.

every Protestant State,] and of *Protestancy* it self.

C. Past all Dispute; and an *Uniformity of Worship* brings them into that Union; Which is never to be attained, while the World endures, by a *Liberty of Conscience.* How was the *Protestant Interest* (I beseech you) *United* in the late *Dissolution of Government*; When *Every Man did that which was Right in his own Eyes?* Examine the Story well, and you will find Reason to believe, that *the Church of Rome* has gain'd more upon Us, since That *Unsettlement of Ecclesiastical Order*, then perchance from the first hour of the *Reformation*, even unto That very Day. For *Liberty of Conscience*, did no less bring a *Civil War* upon the *Protestant Religion*, then the Pretended *Liberty of the Subject* did upon the *State.* It turned *every Man's Hand against his Brother.* Every Man had a *Religion* to *Himself*, and *every Man's Conscience* (as I told you) *was his Bible*; and We are still to presume, that *like Causes will produce like Effects.*

It is also remarquable, that the *lowdest*, and *boldest Declamers* against the *Orders* of the *Church*, proved likewise, the most *Pragmatical*, and *Audacious Invaders* of

the *Civil Peace*; The *Antecedent Schism* serving only for a *Prologue* to the *Ensuing Sedition*.

Disc. of Relig. Par. 1. p. 4c. *N. C. This Arraignment of their supposed* **Principles**, *about* **Government**, *may haply proceed upon Mistake. There is Reason to think, that the many late Disputes, about* **Prerogative**, *and* **Liberty**, *are* Controversiæ ortæ, non primæ; *that they had their Rise from something else, which lies at the Bottom.*

C. This is but *Peradventure I, Peradventure No.* For if a Man may *haply* be in a *Mistake*, he may *haply* too be in the *Right*. I will grant ye likewise, that the Disputes about *Prerogative*, and *Liberty*, had their *Rise* from *somewhat else*, which lay at the *Bottom*. That is to say; It was not *Purity of Religion*, *Reformation of the Liturgie*, *Retrenching the Exorbitant Power of Bishops*, or *Scruple of Conscience*, (as pretended) that wrought the *Subversion* of *Church*, and *State*; but it was the *Design*, which lay at the *Bottom*, of Carrying on the Great Work of *Overturning the Government*, under Countenance of that Plausible *Imposture*, and *Disguise*.

Disc. of Relig. Par. 1. p. 41. *N. C.* **Inclinations**, *and* **Interests**, *more then* **Speculative Opinions**, *will be*

be found to have born the Sway, and Caused those Active Motions, on the One Hand, and the Other. These **Dogmata**, *or* **Problems** *about* **Obedience**, *and* **Government**, *do but little, where Mens* **Affections**, *and* **Concernments** *do not give them* **Spirit**, *and* **Vigor**.

6. It is most Certain, that *Problems* draw no *Blood*; and We do not read, that ever any Man's *Throat* was cut, with a *Speculation*, or a *Syllogism*; But yet, *Inclinations*, and *Interests* (you allow) may do much, towards *Mischief*: So that, I have what I desire, if I am but able to make it out, that *Liberty of Conscience* will, most indubitably, *beget strong* Inclinations *in the People, to shake off the Yoke of* Government; and that they will not want specious *Appearances* of *Interest* so to Do.

First; The *Servants* of *Jesus Christ* (as the *Non-Conformists* peculiarly stile themselves) have This Advantage of the *Subjects* of *Temporal Princes*; that They serve the *Better Master*: and the *Dignity* of their *Spiritual Profession* supersedes the *Duty* of their *Political Allegeance*. (So often, as they shall think Good, to stand upon That Privilege) By Virtue of which *Prerogative*, they do not only Claim an

an *Exemption* from the *Obligation*, and *Reach* of *Humane Laws*; But a *Commission* also, and *Authority*, to *Reform those Laws*, (in Case of *Error*, and *Corruption*) according to the *Standard* of the *Gospel*. Now to this *Principle*, and *Doctrine*, do but add *Liberty of Conscience*; and the *People* have *Law*, and *Magistracy* at their *Mercy* already. For *First*; they reckon themselves no further *answerable* either to the *One*, or to the *Other*, then as they find them *Warranted* in, and *Grounded* upon *the Word of God*. And *Secondly*; they may chuse whether or no, they will find any *Law*, or *Magistrate*, whatsoever, to be so *Warranted*, or *Grounded*; And consequently, Whether there shall be *any Government*, or *No*. *One Man's Conscience* cannot allow *This*, or *That Injunction* to be *according* to *God's Word*: It may be *Lawful* to *Another*, but it is not so to *Him*; and *Her* calls for *Indulgence*, and *Moderation*. *Another Man's Conscience* swears by the most High God, that it is *point-blank Against* it; and nothing will serve *Him*, but utter *Extirpation*. And whatsoever they call *Conscience*, must pass for *Current*. Every Man is to govern himself by *his own Opinion*; not by *Another bodies*. It is no longer

longer *Liberty of Conſcience*, if a Man ſhall be *run down*, and *concluded*, by *Preſcription*, *Authority*, *Conſent of Fathers*, *Scripture*, *Reaſon*, and the like, without being CONVINC'D.

N. C. I thought you would have ſhewed me in what manner, or by what means *Liberty of Conſcience* comes to turn the *Hearts*, and *Intereſts* of *Subjects* againſt their *Superiors*, as you ſaid you would.

C. A little Patience, and I'le be as good as my Word. It has brought us to this paſs, already, you ſee, that it has caſt the *Government* upon the *good Nature* of the *Multitude*, and made it purely *dependent* upon the *Breath* of the *People*, whether it ſhall *Stand*, or *Fall*. So that (in ſhort) the Matter in Queſtion, falls under theſe *Two Conſiderations*. *Firſt*; Whether a *People*, left to *Themſelves*, either to be under the *Reſtraint* of *Laws*, or *not*, will not rather agree to *caſt off a Government*, then to *defend it*. *Secondly*; Whether they will not, likewiſe, find a very fair appearance of *Intereſt*, and *Advantage*, in ſo doing. The *Former*, I think, will eaſily be Granted, by any Man that does but adviſe either with the *Common Practiſes* of the *World*, or with *Humane*

Humane Frailty: Taking the *World*, either in *Individuals*, or in *Parties*.

What says the *Artificer*, the *Tradesman*, the *Farmer*? Why should *We* be put upon Extremities of *Hard Labour*, *Course Fare*, *Rising early*, and *Going to Bed late*? (and all little enough to keep our Families from starving) any more then *such*, and *such*; that lie wallowing in *Ease*, *Abundance*, *Luxury*, and *Riot*? But *This we may thank the Law for*; that has *Appropriated* those *Possessions* to *Particulars*, which *God Almighty* gave us in *Common*. Why should *We* be the *Drudges* of the Kingdom? (says the *Day-Labourer*) The *Law* is *Their Enemy* too, because it keeps them in Awe, that they dare not Steal. It is the same Case, with *Traytors*, *Felons*, *Vagabonds*, and all *Criminals*. And so it is with *Factions*, and *Associated Parties*; *We* might set up *This Government*, or *This Church*; and *We*, *T'other*, (say they) if it were not for Those Accursed *Laws*, that make it *Death* to Endeavour such an *Alteration*. This is a True, and Naked Accompt of the Peoples *Thoughts*, and *Reasonings*, in the Point of *Liberty*, and *Obedience*: and a sufficient Proof of their *INCLINATION* (not against *This*, or *That*; but) against

against *any Establishment*: It being the main End of *Government*, to secure the *Community* against the *Encroachments*, and *Attempts* of *Particulars*: Though to the very great *Damage*, and *Ruine*, (many times) of *Private Persons*, and *Parties*.

If you be satisfied now, that the *People* do not Naturally *love Government*, you need not doubt but they will judge it their *INTEREST* to *Remove* it: Every *Male-Content*, entertaining himself with hopes of mending his Condition upon the Change. But Alas! This is not an Undertaking for *Single Persons*, *Small Parties*, or *Petty Factions*, by *Themselves apart*; but some *Common Medium* must be found out, for the *Uniting* of them *All*; which, indeed, is amply provided for, in the Project of *Liberty of Conscience*: and does not only *facilitate* the Work, by drawing the *Disaffected* into a *Body*; but it does also *Countenance*, and *Encourage* it, by *Authorising* the *Separation*.

N. C. But to Me, it seems, on the Contrary, that *an Indulgence would set the Peoples Minds at Liberty from Fears and Contrivances, for the avoidance of Impendent Dangers; and encourage them to* Indulg. & Toler. p. 24

engage

engage the Utmost of their Endeavours and Abilities, in the Businesses of Peace, and Security.]

C. As to the *Security*, and *Peace* of the *Publique*, if enough be not already said, you may repair to the History of our late Broils, for the rest: Where you will also find the Condition of *Particulars*, to have been every jote as *Distracted*, and *Unquiet* (in proportion) as That of the *Government*.

You are to expect *Schisms* in *Corporations, Companies, Families*; as well as in *Religious Congregations*: *Divisions*, as well betwixt *Parents, and Children*; *Masters, and Servants*; as betwixt *Rulers, and Subjects*: *Feuds* betwixt *Man, and Wife*; betwixt *Brethren, Kinred, Friends*; and all these *Differences*, variously Influenced, according to the *Benignity*, or *Malignity* of their *Divided Opinions*. Nor will it be any wonder, (upon admittance of *This Liberty*) to have as many *Religions* in a House, as *Persons*: where the *Husband* draws *one way*, the *Wife*, *another*; and the Rest of the *Family* have *Their ways* by *Themselves*, too. And This goes on, (to the utter Extermination of *Order*, *Duty*, and *Quiet*) till they have throughly wearied themselves, with Tossing,

sing, and Tumbling from *one Sett*, or *Profession*, to *another*. And then, when they are at their Wits End, they commonly take up in the *Church of Rome*, with an *Implicite Faith*, in the Conclusion.

Now if what I have said, may be of force sufficient to prove, that *Liberty of Conscience*, is *destructive*, both of *Religion*, and *Government*; and of the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*, as well *Private*, as *Publique*. I cannot see how it should advance us, (as is earnestly suggested) in the Business of *Trade*, and *Plenty*.

N.C. **We shall never have a Flourishing** *Trade* **without it:** *Because the Pressure in these things falls generally more upon the* **Trading sort of Men**, *then any in the Nation. We may see it in the Great City, and in all Corporations: It makes many give over* **Trading**, *and Retire; It makes others remove into* Holland, *and other Forreign Parts; as it did heretofore from* **Norwich**, *to the Irrecoverable Prejudice of our* **Cloathing Trade**, *upon the like Occasion; And it certainly prevents all* **Protestant Strangers** *to come to* **Live, and Trade among us.** Liberty of Consc. p. 98.

C. The Pressure (you say) *falls most upon TRADERS*: I answer, that you

you begin with a *Non Constat*; for *the Thing it self does not appear*. And then, you make *Traders more Scrupulous* then the rest of the Nation, who are not Generally understood to be *more Conscientious*; as having divers Temptations in the way of their Employments, to strein a Point of *Conscience* now and then; and they are but *Men*, as well as their *Neighbours*. If your *Observation* be *Right*; We may thank the *Nonconforming Ministers*, who have had the handling of them.

Your urging, that *want of* Liberty *makes many give over* Trading, *and Retire*, does not agree with their Observation, that place their Wonder on the other side, that so many *Hold*; considering the Circumstances of a long, and Expensive *War* with the *French*, and *Dutch*. (The most Expensive that ever this Kingdom undertook) And Two of the most dreadful, and destroying *Judgments* that ever Almighty God laid upon this Nation, *i. e. Pestilence*, and *Fire*, one upon the neck of another.

You object, *the Removal of others into* Holland, *as formerly*. Indeed it is not for the Credit of your Cause to mind us of those that formerly left us. Take the

Peins

Peins to read *Bayly's Dissuasive*, Pa. 75. and there you shall see what Work they made in *Holland*: Even such, that *Peters* himself was scandalized at it; quitted his Congregation, and went to *New-England*. *Bridg*, *Sympson*, and *Ward*, renounc'd their *English Ordination*, and took *Ordination* again from the *People*. The *People*, after this, *deposed* Mr. *Ward*; and the *Schism* betwixt *Sympson's Church*, and *Bridg* his, was so fierce, that their Ministers were fain to quit their Stations; and the *Dutch Magistrate* forc'd to interpose the *Civil Authority* to quiet them. In *New England*, their Humour, and Behaviour not much Better (according to the Report of the same Author, *Pag.* 60, 61.) Of *Forty Thousand Souls*, not a *Third Part* would be of any Church; and such *Heresies* started, as a Man would tremble to Recite. If only such as *These* forsake us, the Land has a good Riddance.

Further; If it was *to the Prejudice of our Cloathing Trade*, (This Separation) Who can help it? It was Their Fault to betray the Interest of their Country, by teaching the Mystery to *Forreigners*; but no blame at all can be reflected upon the *Government*, for Refusing *Toleration* to such *Lawless*, and *Unruly Libertines*.

Now, *as to the hindring of* Protestant Strangers *from coming over to us, and Trading with us*, It is a clear Mistake, to imagine the Church of *England* to be such a *Bugbear* to those of the *Reformation abroad*, as is pretended. (Which shall hereafter be made appear) It is not the Act of *Uniformity* that hinders *Strangers*, but the want of an Act of *Endenisation*; which, perchance, the Wisdom of future Times will find convenient, for the *Supply*, and *Repair* of that *Depopulation* which is brought upon us by our *Colonies*.

But to come to an Issue. How was it with *Trade*, when *Conscience* took the *full Swinge*? It brought on a *War*; and so it must again, or a *Standing Army* to *prevent* it. How many Families were ruin'd, on the *one side*, with pure *Benevolence* to the *Cause*, in *Contributions*, and *Entertainments* to *the Devourers of Widows Houses*, and *the Captivaters of silly Women*? And on the *other side*, as many were undone with *Taxes*, and *Plunder*. How went *Trading* on, when all Business was neglected, but Gallopping up and down to *Lectures*, to hear *News*, and *Sedition*? When *Prentices* robb'd their *Masters*, and took *Sanctuary* in the *Service*? When *Publique Faith* was a

Tradesmans

Tradesmans best *Security*; and the whole Nation held *Life*, and *Estate*, at the good Pleasure of a *Close Committee*?

N. C. Let **Liberty of Conscience** *be once* FITLY *given, and the Root of all Mens Hopes, and Pretensions, that desire Publique Mischief, is pull'd up.* Liberty of Conscience, p. 58.

C. FITLY, will be well indeed; But (with your Favour) what is the *meaning* of FITLY? How shall we agree upon the *Dos*? Unless you intend, that the *Magistrate* is to continue *Giving*, till the *Subject* shall leave *Asking*. And That must be: For, If ever he thinks of *holding his hand* sooner, he had better have done *nothing*.

N. C. **But what** *Colour* **will there be for any further** *Exception*?

C. The very same they have now. *New Scruples* will bolt *New Demands*: And Beside; I should be glad if you would furnish me with any one Instance, where the *Non-Conformists* were ever the *better* for *Indulgence*.

SECT. XVII.

This Kingdom *has been still the* Worse *for Indulging the* Non-Conformists, *and the* Party *never the* Better. *Which evinces, that* UNIFORMITY *is the* True Interest of This Government, *and Not* Toleration.

C. UPon *Queen Elizabeth's* coming to the *Crown*, Those *Non-Conformists*, that fled, in *Queen Mary's* Days, and *Separating* from the *English Congregation* at *Francfort*, went off to *Geneva*, came back again for *England*: and with their *Libels*, *Clamours*, *Private Consultations*, and *Meetings*, gave Trouble enough to the *Government* for the *Ten first Years* of *her Majesties Reign*; who was, at that time, so beset, with the *Roman Catholiques*, on the *One Hand*; and the *Puritans*, on the *Other*, that she thought it well, upon that Pinch, to *save her self*, without Exercising *Rigor*, and *Severity* upon *either Party*. This *Impunity* gave them the Confidence, a while after, to declare themselves for the *Geneva Discipline*,

plint, and (in the Fourteenth of Her Reign) by an Audacious *Pamphlet* (under the Title of *An Admonition*) to press the *Parliament* to a *Reformation*. The Principal *Abetters* of This *Libel* were *Discover'd*, and *Clapt up*; And soon after, out comes a *Second Admonition*; telling the *Parliament*, in *Plain English*, that, if *Authority* would not, they must set it up *Themselves*. And it was not long, ere they were as good as their Words, by *Erecting* several *Formal Presbyteries* up and down the Kingdom. (As appeared, upon Undeniable *Proof*, and *Confession* of *Parties* to the *Combination*) They had their *Synods*; their *Classical*, and *Provincial Conferences*; Pronounc'd their *Decrees*: Concurring in the main against *Bishops*, *Ceremonies*, and *Common Prayer*. They had their *Agents* throughout the *Kingdom*, upon a strict *Survey* of the *Value* of every *Benefice*; the *Number* of *Parishioners*; Their *Quality*, manner of *Life*, and *Conversation*. Their Book of *Discipline* was long upon the Anvile; but at length, (about 1586.) it was *Finished*, *Communicated*, and *Subscribed*: with a *Promise*, to *observe* it *Themselves*, and *to use all Lawful*, *and* CONVENIENT *Means to further*, *and advance it*. In

Conclusion; the whole Matter came to be Detected; *Cartwright*, *Snape*, and several of the *Ringleaders*, were *Examin'd*, and *Committed*: Whereupon, *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, *Hacket*, *Wigginton*, *&c.* Entred into a *Conspiracy* for their *Deliverance*; and *to have the Blood of every Man that should dare to give his Vote against them, in the* Star-Chamber; *nay, to Depose the Queen her self, in Case of her Refusal to promote the Reformation.* And all this, not without *the Privity, and Tacit Approbation of the most considerable Ministers of the Party.*

Cambden's Eliz. 1591.

This was the blessed Fruit of *Lenity*, and *Forbearance* under *Queen Elizabeth*; The *Law Insulted* out by a *Faction*; A *Plot* upon the *Life* of the *Queen*, and *Counsel*, carried on, under Colour of *Religion*, and *Reformation.*

N. C. **Still I perceive, you pick out the foulest** *Cases*, **and** *Instances* **you can lay hold on, to Match with** *Ours.*

C. Is it not rather *your Misfortune*, to write after the *foulest Copies?* But to the Business: What would you say, *if his Majesty now in being, had Queen Elizabeth's Game to Play?* Apprehensions of his *Life*, from *Jesuits*, Both *Protestant*, and *Papist?* The *whole Generation* of the Non-

Non-Conformists United against his *Person*, and *Government*, as well in *Judgment*, as in *Faction*? (which are here divided into a Thousand Disagreements) You would (beyond all peradventure) give the *Government* for *lost*, without an immediate Recourse to an Act of *Indulgence*, and *Accommodation*, to preserve it. But the *Policy* of *Those Times* made Choice rather of *another Course*; Some were *Imprison'd*; *Others*, put to *Death*; according to the Demerit of the Offence.

N. C. **Are you for Punishing** *Inconformity* **with** *Death* **then?**

C. No, by no means; *Hacket*, you know, was not put to *Death* for *Inconformity*, but for *Treason*. And pray let me give You a Brief of his Story, as *Cambden* delivers it.

He was *born* at *Oundle* in *Northampton-shire*; a *Poor*, *Insolent*, *Ill-natured*, and *Illiterate Fellow*. He married a *Widow*, spent her Fortune in *Riot*; and when he had Nothing else to Trust to, betook himself to the *Imposture* of *Religion*, and an *Affectation* of the *Geneva Discipline*: So far Ingratiating himself with several of the Prime *Zealots* of *That Profession*, that they did him the Honour to make Him of their *Council*, in their *Grand De-* *Camden's Eliz.* 1591.

sign, (to the *Execution* whereof, He also pretended an *Extraordinary Call*, and *Commission* from *Above*) He was (in Conclusion) *Apprehended*, *Charged* with *Treason*, found *Guilty*, *Condemn'd*, and *Executed*.

Now to shew you the *Devil himself*, in the shape of *an Angel of Light*, This *Hacket*, as He was upon the *Hurdle*, in the way to his *Execution*, never left Calling upon Almighty God, with *Hideous Outcries*: And Now behold

Ibid. (*says he*) the Heavens are Open, and the Son of the most High coming down to Deliver me. When he was come to the Place of Execution, He prosecuted his Blasphemies, with more Horrid, and Furious Exclamations: [Heavenly, and Almighty God; Thou that art the Alpha, and Omega; Lord of Lords, and King of Kings; Thou Eternal God; That knowest ME to be the True

True JEHOVAH, that thou hast sent; Shew some Miracle from Heaven, for the Conversion of These Infidels; and save me from my Enemies; Or if thou dost not, **I'le set the Heavens on Fire, and with these very Hands cast Thee out of Thy Throne.**

I should have scrupled the bare *Recital* of these *Blasphemies*, were it not for the Desire I have, to Possess you with a Due Consideration of those *Execrable Abuses*, that are frequently Imposed upon the World, under the *Visor* of *Religion*. The *Condition* of the *Kingdom* was doubtless very *Sad*, that had such *Turbulent Spirits* to deal withal; and yet we find, that by *One Severe Law* (of the 35th of the *Queen's Reign*) Her Majesty gave her *Self*, and her *People*, *Quiet*, as to That Particular, for the whole *Remainder* of her Life.

The *Penalties* (as I remember) were These:

Thes. Imprisonment without Bail or Main-prize, for being Present at Unlawful Conventicles; The Offender to be discharged, if within Three Months He made his Open Submission, and Acknowledgment, in the Form by the said Statute appointed. But in Case of Recusancy to Conform within That time, He was required to Abjure the Realm. And in Case of Refusing to Abjure; Or of not Departing within a limited Time; Or of Returning without Licence, to be proceeded against as a Felon, without Benefit of Clergy.

Disc. of Relig. Par. 1. p. 14.

N. C. And yet you see, for all your *New-modelling* of *Corporations*; *Prohibiting* of *Conventicles*, *Removing Non-Conformists five Miles from the Place of their Usual Supports, and Influences: Nevertheless, the State Ecclesiastical hath advanced little in the Esteem, Acceptance, or Acquiescence of the People.*

C. This is very True; and if *Other Laws* for the Prevention of *Capital Crimes*, were no better *Executed*, then *That* for *Uniformity*, Your Argument would lie as fair every jot, for the *Toleration* of *Murder*, as it does now for *Schism*. But however, it succeeded well with *Queen Elizabeth*;

Elizabeth; and not worse with *King James*, as appears by the Story.

His Majesty (under *Twelve Years Old*) took the Government of *Scotland* into his Hand. The Year following, the Ministers presented a Form of *Church-Policy*, to the Parliament then Sitting; and upon the Debate, matters were agreed, as far as Possible, without Prejudice to the *King's Authority*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*: And These Points were either *referr'd* to further Consideration, or *pass'd over* in Silence. The *Assembly* took snuff at this Dilatory way of Proceeding, and, without more adoe, pass'd a Vote, *for doing their own Business, without asking the Parliament leave.* They began with the *Arch-Bishop* of *Glasgow*: and presently fell upon the whole *Order*, requiring Them to renounce their *Temporal Titles*, Their *Civil Jurisdiction*; To decline their *Votes* in *Parliament*, and to submit themselves to a *Retrenchment* of their *Episcopal Revenues*. Their next step, was the *Demolishing* of the *Cathedral* at *Glasgow*: But when the *Quarriers* were just entring upon the Work, the *Tradesmen* of the Town, in an Uproar, threaten'd the Undertakers, and so they quitted it: But Anno 1577

not

not without a Complaint to the Council, of the Insolence of the *Mutineers*; Which came to This Issue, his Majesty justifi'd the *Tradesmen*, and forbad the *Ministers* any further meddling in the Destroying of *Churches*. And This was all the Cheque they had for so lewd an Outrage.

In 1579, The King wrote to the *Ministers*, not to prejudge the Decisions of the *Parliament*, then approaching, by the Conclusions of their *Assembly*; and to Forbear the Practice of any *Innovations*, till their *Meeting*. Whereupon, instead of *Complying*, they proceeded to a Positive *Resolution* of *Adhering* to their *Former Conclusions*; Question'd the *Arch-Bishop* of *St. Andrews*, for giving his *Voice* in *Parliament*; and soon after, by an Act of *Assembly*, They commanded the *Bishops*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, not to Exercise the Office of *Pastors*, in any sort whatsoever, without *Licence* from the *General Assembly*; and further directing, the *Patrimony* of the *Church* to be so disposed of, as they should judg Reasonable at their next *Convention*: Thus, by Degrees, growing *Bolder* and *Bolder*, upon *Forbearance*.

The Particulars of their *Usurpations* would

would be too tedious; I could otherwise tell you of their *Justification* of the *Treasonous Seizure* of the *King* at *Ruthuen*; Their *Propositions*, and *Compleints* in 1583, with the King's *Gentle Return*; Their *Covenants*, and *Seditious Practices*, even to the Encouraging, and Avowing of *Open Rebellion*. And still the more *Pliant*, and *Easie* his Majesty was, The more *Contumacious*, and *Untractable* were these People. In the End; What with the *Tumult* at *Edinburgh*, in 1596; and the *Ministers Band* of *Confederacy*, immediately upon it; The King was forced upon a Resolution of *Rigor*, and *Severity*; *and* (as *Spotswood* observes) *he received little or no Opposition thereafter*.

At his Majesties Entry upon the Government of *England*, the Ceremonies of his first *Reception*, and *Inauguration* were scarce over, but He was assaulted with *Petitions*, and *Importunities* about the *Reformation* of the *Government*, and *Liturgie* of the *Church*: in the Name of Thousands of Godly, Learned, and Conscientious Men, that could not Conform: Whereupon, a *Proclamation* was Issued for a *Conference* to be held at *Hampton-Court*, in *January*, 1604. So many

many *Bishops*, and *Deans* appointed for the *Church*; and for the *Petitioners*, there appeared, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparkes*, Mr. *Knewstubb*, and Mr. *Chadderton*.

The Points in Controversie, were Particularly, and Solemnly Debated; and in the End, such Satisfaction given even to the *Plaintiffs* Themselves, that they all promis'd Obedience; and Dr. *Sparkes* became, afterward, an *Advocate* for the Orders of the *Church*, and wrote a *Treatise* for *Conformity*. *Knewstubb* indeed boggled a little, and desired to know, *How far an Ordinance of the Church was Binding, without Offence to CHRISTIAN LIBERTY?* Upon which General Question, The King turn'd short, and Answer'd him; *Le Roy s' avisera: Let us have no more of* Those Questions, *How far you are bound to* Obey, *what the Church has once* Ordeined: But *Conform* at your *Peril*.

While the Business was fresh, they made a faint Pretense of Appealing to *another Conference*: but upon second Thoughts, they let it totally fall, and never gave the King any further Trouble upon That Subject.

Thus far, you see, the *Government* has been *preserv'd* by strictness of *Order*, and *Uni-*

Uniformity. We come now to thoſe Fatalities of *Tenderneſs*, and *Relaxation* that *deſtroy'd* us.

N. C. **You never conſider, that the *Non-Conformiſts* are more *Numerous*, and *Powerful* now then formerly they were, by many Degrees: and that the Diſſenters Cauſe has got Ground upon the Church-Intereſt, ever ſince. But follow your Diſcourſe.**

C. In the *Firſt* of *the late King*; was exhibited, in Parliament, *A Petition*, (among other Matters) *for the Propagation of the Goſpel, and the Reſtoring of Silenc'd Miniſters*; to which, his Majeſty, return'd a *Gracious*, and *Yielding Anſwer*, which produc'd a *Remonſtrance* of *Miſcarriages* in *Government*; Inſomuch, that his Majeſty was forced to *Diſſolve That Parliament*.

In the *Second* Year of his Reign; He call'd *another Parliament*, which purſu'd the ſame Method, and went a little Higher then the Former: So that the King was fain to *Diſſolve That* too.

In the Year following; the King call'd *Another*; and upon their *Meeting*, went ſomewhat a quicker way to work with them: Minding them, in a ſhort, and pertinent

pertinent Speech, of their Paſt Failings; adviſing them to ſteer a more Peaceable Courſe for the Future, and not to put him upon Extremities, to provide for the Safety of his People. This change of Stile, and *Reſolution*, in his Majeſty, drew Immediately from the *Commons*, a Grant of *Five Subſidies*. The King was too Generous, and Candid to take That *Preſent* for a *Bait*; and Relapſing into his former Temper of *Charity*, and *Softneſs*, was preſently accoſted with *The Petition of Right*; which, after ſome *Difficulty*, and *Demur*, His Majeſty *paſſes*: And after *This*, followed a *Petition*, *Remonſtrance*, and *Proteſtation*, which put an End alſo to *That Convention*.

Look now a little into the *Scotch Affairs*, and obſerve the Growth of the *Non-Conformiſts Demands*, from one thing to another; till in the End, by virtue of what the King Granted them, they poſſeſt themſelves of all the Reſt. *In their* Tumults (ſays his Majeſty) *they complein'd only of the* Service Book. *In their* Petition *exhibited to the* Counſel; *they complein'd of the* Service-Book, *and* Canons. *In their* Covenant *they complein of, and* Abjure *the* Five Articles *of* Perth. (*although Eſtabliſh't, firſt by a* General Aſſembly,

King's large Dec. p. 73.

Assembly, *and Then by* Parliament) *After This, they complain of the* High Commission; *And Then, of* Prelates *Sitting in* Civil Judicatories.

Hereupon, *His Majesty Commissions* Marquis Hamilton, *with full Power, and Authority, to Conclude, and Determine all such Things as should be found for the Good, Quietness, and Peace of that Kingdom:* Directing him also to take the mildest Course that might be, for the Calming of those Commotions. And what Effect had this *Peaceable Inclination* of His Majesty, upon the *Covenanters*, but to blow them up into more Seditious, and bolder Practises, against the King's Authority, and the Publique Peace? They pursue their Demands, and Clamour for a *Free General Assembly*, and a *Parliament*. His Majesty gives them all their Askings: Indicts a *Free General Assembly*, and a *Parliament*; *Discharges* the *Service-Book*, the *Canons*; *High-Commission*; The urging of the *Five Articles* of *Perth*: *Commands* the *Subscribing* of the *Confession of Faith*, and the *Band* thereto annexed; in the very Form which they pretended to Impose; And offers them an Act of *Indemnity* for what was past. In all which *Condescentions*, Large Declar. p. 77. Ib. p. 137.

the King's *Patience*, and *Mercy* only ſerved to *heighten*, and *confirm* thoſe Men in their *Undertaking*, and to expoſe his *Royal Dignity*, to *Contempt*. In the concluſion, the King had ſo far gratified their Importunities, that they had nothing left to Quarrel upon, but His Majeſties refuſal to *Aboliſh Epiſcopacy*, and to admit the Authority of their *Lay-Elders*.

From hence, they brake out into open *Rebellion*; and (when the King had them directly at his Mercy) upon the Interview of the two Armies near *Berwick*, ſuch was his *Tenderneſs*, that upon their Supplication for a *Treaty*, he Truſted them again, and Concluded a *Pacification*; whereof the *Covenanters* obſerv'd not ſo much as *One Article*.

Upon his Return to *London*, His Majeſty (as is elſwhere obſerved) paſſes the *Triennial Bill*; *Aboliſhes* the *Star-Chamber*, and *High Commiſſion Court*: Paſſes an Act for the *Continuance* of the *Parliament*. Not to inſiſt upon the ſeveral other *Conceſſions*, concerning *Ship-money*, *Foreſts*, and *Stannary Courts*; *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, *Knighthood*, &c.

Now in *Requital* of theſe *Benefits*, the Faction *Claps up*, and *Proſecutes* his Majeſties *Friends*; *Prefers*, and *Enlarges* his *Enemies*;

Enemies; *Rewards* the *Scots*; Entertains their *Commiſſioners*; Votes Them their *Dear Brethren*, for *Invading* Us; Calls in all *Books*, and *Proclamations* againſt them. They take away the *Biſhops Votes*; Impoſe a *Proteſtation* upon the People; Take away the Earl of *Strafford*'s Life; Charge Twelve of the *Biſhops* with *Treaſon*; Declare the King's *Proclamations* to be *Falſe*, *Scandalous*, and *Illegal*; Keep his Majeſty out of his own *Towns*; and Seize his *Arms*, and *Ammunition*. They preſent Him with Nineteen *Propoſitions* for the *Reſignation* of his *Royal Authority*. They Vote a *General*, and Raiſe an *Army* againſt him. They Uſurp the Power of the *Militia*, and give the *King Battel*; *Levy Moneys*; and Declare the *Queen* Guilty of *Treaſon*.

After all Theſe Uſurpations upon the *Civil Power*, They are put to't to bring the Cauſe of *Religion* once again upon the Stage: They enter into a *Covenant*; and call in the *Scots* again; They *Aboliſh* the *Common-Prayer*; ſecure the *Perſon of the King*; Share the *Revennes* of the *Church*, and *Crown*. They *Sequeſter*, *Baniſh*, and *Impriſon* his Majeſties *Adherents*; and in the Concluſion, *Sell*, *Depoſe*, and *Murder* their *Soveraign*.

This was the Fruit of that Pious, and Unfortunate Prince his *Clemency*, and *Indulgence*.

Now to bring the Instance home to the present Times: What could be more *Pious*, *Gracious*, or *Obliging*, then His Majesties *Declaration* concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, in Favour of the *Non-Conformists*? All that was possible for the King to do, in Consistence with *Conscience*, *Honour*, and the *Peace* of his *Dominions*, His Majesty has therein given them a frank Assurance of. (with their *Lives*, and *Estates*, over and above, in the Act of *Oblivion*) And are they one jote the *Quieter* for all This? No, but the *Worse*: for no sooner was the King's Tenderness, in That Particular, made Publique, but the Generality (even of those that had lately Entred into a Regular, and Dutiful *Compliance* with the *Orders* of the *Church*) started into a *new Revolt*: which proves sufficiently, the *Benefit*, and *Necessity* of a strict *Rule*, and the *hazzard* of a *Toleration*: For rather then abide the *Penalty* of the *Act*, they could *Conform*; but upon the least Glimpse of a *Dispensation*, they *Relapse* into a *Schism*.

Neither

Neither do I find, that they were less Troublesom, *before* the Act of *Uniformity*, when they Preach'd at *Randome*, then they have been *since*; Nor, to say the Truth, that they have much more Cause of *Compleint*, *Now*, then they had *Then*. For what are they the worse, for a *Penalty*, that is never *Executed*?

But if you will have a True Measure of their *Moderation*, and *Good Nature*: I pray'e take notice of their Proceedings upon *His Majesties Commission, for the Review of the Book of Common-Prayer. We will appoint* (says His Majesty, in his *Declaration* concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*) *an Equal Number of Learned Divines of* Both Perswasions, *to* Review *the* * *same, and to make such* ALTERATIONS *as shall be thought most* NECESSARY. So that the *Alterations* were to be agreed upon by *BOTH PARTIES*, and found likewise to be *NECESSARY*. Now instead of *Alterations, joyntly agreed upon*, They Publish a *Complete Liturgy* of *their own*; indeed a *New Directory*; but under the Title of *The REFORMATION of the Liturgie*. (which in all their Books, signifies *ABOLITION*) Give me the favour, next, to observe upon some of

* The Liturgy.

their *NECESSARY Alterations*. They have turn'd *WEDDED Wife*, into *MARRIED*. *DOEST THOU Believe?* into *DO YOU Believe? All this I STEDFASTLY Believe*, into *All this I UNFEIGNEDLY Believe*. These are some of the *Important Scruples*, that are cast into the *Balance*, against the *Unity* of the *Church*, and the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*. What is This, but to make *Sport* with *Authority*, and *Conscience*? *Laws* must be *Suspended*; *Princes*, *Vilified* and *Importun'd*; because, forsooth, the *Godly Party* may not be *Govern'd* by *Laws of their own making*: Nay, by *Words* of their *own chusing* too; So that we are like to have a *Schism*, for *Syllables*, as well as for *Ceremonies*. For what is the Difference betwixt *WEDDED*, and *MARRIED*, but that the *One* wears the Stamp of the *Law-Makers*, and the *Other*, of the *Law-Menders*?

Is it not now evident, that they are the *worse* for *good usage*? And that they have ever been so? You see the Effects of keeping to a *Rule*, in *Queen Elizabeth*, and *King James*: And we have since felt, to our Cost, the Effects of a *Relaxation*: which abundantly satisfies me, That

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UNIFORMITY is the true Interest of This Government, and not TOLERATION.

N. C. Uniformity is the *Interest* of *This Kingdom*, as it is of *any other*, where there is any fair Possibility of procuring it. But the Principles of *Dissent* have taken such Root in this Land, that you may as well think of *Depopulating* the *Nation*, as of *Uniting* it, upon the Points in Question.

C. But I am otherwise perswaded; and that the Party of *Non-Conformists* is not so considerable, as you make it.

SECT. XVIII.

The Party *of* Scrupulous, *and* Conscientious Non-Conformists, *is neither* NUMEROUS, *nor* DANGEROUS.

C. I Am apt to believe that Party is not so *Numerous* as you represent it, for many Reasons. First; I take *English Mens Consciences*, and their *Neighbours*, to be much of a *Make*: And I do not find the Subject of *Our Contro-*

verse, to be made Matter of *Conscience*, by any *other sort* of *Christians* whatsoever, out of his Majesties Dominions.

N. C. **'Tis well we have Good Authority to the Contrary. The** *Preface* **to the** *Directory* **assures us, that** *The* **Liturgy** *used in the Church of* **England,** *hath proved an Offence, not only to the Godly at* **Home;** *but also to the* **Reformed Churches Abroad. And** *Smectymnuus* **tells the** *Parliament*, (Pag. 10.) **that** *there is such a vast difference between* **It,** *and the* **Liturgies** *of all other* **Reformed Churches** *as that it keeps them at a Distance from us.*

C. We'l talk of That anon; and in the mean time (with your good leave) pursue what we have now before us. Another thing that perswades me the *Conscientious* number of *Dissenters* cannot be very great, is This. The *Law* has made an Ample *Provision* for their *Relief*: Leaving *every Household*, with *Four more*, at Liberty to Worship according to their own way. So that the *Laity* has no Pretense of Compleint; Especially, those that plead for the *Ordination* of their own *Ministers*, and maintein, that *Seven Persons make a Full, Ministerial, and Completely Organiz'd Church.*

A

A Man might make an Exception to your *Accompt* too, upon the score of *Old Reckonings*; for you have ever had the faculty of *Multiplication*. Your *Thousands* at *Hampton-Court*, came to a matter of *Nine and Forty*: And we remember very well, your old way of *Personating Petitions*, from *Multitudes* of the *Godly*, and *Well-affected*, in both *City*, and *Country*; when, effectually, the poor Innocent Papers never Travell'd farther, then from the *Close Committee*, to the *Lobby*.

N. C. **If you will not Credit** *Report*, **believe your** *Eyes*. **Do you not find our** *Meetings Thronged*, **and many of your** *Churches Empty?*

C. Somewhat, of Both, I must Confess: but yet I am likewise inform'd, that you *shew* divers of these *Meetings*, as *Peters* did his *Rings*, and *Bodkins*, at *several Places*, several times over and over, to make a *Noise*, and increase the *Reputation* of your *Party*.

To contract the Discourse. There is a loud *Clamour*, and the *Ministers* make it. And These too, that stickle in the Cause, none of the most Conscientious neither, unless they have a *Gospel* we never heard of; to *Justifie Disobedience* in *Themselves*;

ſelves; the *Provoking* of it in *Others*; The *Diſturbing* of the *Publique Peace*, and the Sowing of *Diſſention* betwixt *Prince*, and *People*: Which is manifeſtly the *Scope* of their *Writings*, and *Deſigns*.

N. C. **That Undertaking goes ſomewhat too far, to pronounce upon their *Deſigns*. Do you pretend to know their *Hearts* then?**

C. Yes; and with very good Authority, If a Man may be allow'd to judge what Reaſonable Men aim at, from *deliberate Words*, and *Actions*, that lead naturally, to ſuch and ſuch Certain Ends. And this Humour (I tell ye) of *Aſperſing* the *Government*, and *Teizing* the *Multitude*, runs through all their Papers. I durſt appeal to your own Soul, Whether you your ſelf can Imagine, that a *Twentieth Part* of the preſent *Plaintiffs* in Matter of *Conſcience*, are truly acted, and poſſeſt with that *Scrupuloſity* they pretend to. Alas! Alas! You talk of *Conſcience*: 'Tis not what every Man *Thinks*, or *Says*, that is preſently *Conſcience*. We are impos'd upon, by *Phanſie*, *Artifice*, or *Deluſion*. *Some Deceive Themſelves*, and *Others Couſen Us*. In one Word; Whatſoever is not of *Conſcience*, in this *Medly*, is *Faction*: And

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undoubtedly, the *Conscientious Party* has but a slender share in the Mixture.

As *That Party* is not *Numerous*, so neither is it *Dangerous*: upon a Principle of *Honesty*, and *Religion*. No Man of *Conscience*, can either *desire* to *Embroyl* the Kingdom, or *expect* to be the *Better* for't. But still *have a care how ye take every thing for Gold, that Glisters*. *Conscience* was the *Subject* of the *last Quarrel*; *Religion*, the *Pretext*; *Popery* the *Bug-bear*; And the Issue of it was Dreadful. Consider with your selves; You have many of the *same Persons* to lead you on; And *They* have the very *same Matter* too, to work upon. *You meant no hurt to the last King*, you say; And yet you ruin'd him: You may perchance *Intend* as *little Harm* to *This*, and yet *do him* as *much*. And what amends is it, when the Government is laid again in *Dust*, and *Desolation*, to cry, *You were Overseen? If you had thought it should ever have come to This, you would have cut off your Hands, or Tongues*; and I know not what. Look Back; and Tremble at the Course you are now upon; for *you are*, Questionless, *in the very Track of the late Rebellion*. And one may, without Breach of Charity, conclude,

conclude, that *No Man that was an Active Instrument in the last War, can acquit himself of a most Prodigious Impiety, and Ingratitude, in reviving, and prosecuting the same Interest, and Method now against the* SON, *by which, he notoriously contributed toward the Death of the* FATHER.

SECT. XIX.

The Non-Conformists Appeal, *from the* Government, *and* Discipline *of the* Church *of* England, *to the* Judgment, *and* Practise *of the* Reformed Churches BEYOND THE SEAS; Examined, *and* Submitted *to* Censure.

C. IT is observable, that throughout the whole Quarrel against the *Orders*, and *Government* of the *Church* of *England*, the *Non-Conformists* still fly for *Countenance* to the *Judgment* of the *Reformed Churches*, *Abroad*: And so likewise in the Question of *Toleration*, they Insist much upon the *Practise*, and *Tenderness* of *Other Churches*: As if the *Ecclesiastical State* of *This Kingdom*, were as *Singular*,

Singular, for *Tyranny*, and *Corruption*, as, in Truth, the *Litigants Themſelves* are for *Contumacy*, and *Diſobedience*.

In the *Anſwer* of the *Two Houſes* to the *Scots Declaration*, 1642. This Government, by *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, *&c.* is Declared to be *Evil*, juſtly *Offenſive*, and *Burdenſom* to the Kingdom; a great Impediment to the *Reformation*, and Growth of *Religion*: and *Reſolved* it is, that *it ſhall be taken away*: With a Regard to the Introducing of *another Government*, more apt to procure an Union, with the Church of *Scotland*, and *OTHER REFORMED CHURCHES ABROAD*. Ex. Coll. p. 604.

And the *Miniſters*, in the *Petition for Peace*, ſing the ſame Note too: *If Men* (ſay they) *muſt be caſt out of the* Church, *and* Miniſtry, *becauſe they are not wiſer then the Paſtors of moſt of the REFORMED CHURCHES*, *&c.* As who ſhould ſay; *The Church of England* is the *only Proteſtant Church* in the *Chriſtian World*, that pretends to This Way of Proceeding; and the *Proteſtants Abroad*, are all of the *Non-Conformiſts ſide*. Let this Matter be fairly Examin'd, I beſeech you, and we ſhall quickly ſee where the Fault lies. P. 13.

In the firſt Place; What is the Judgment

ment of the *Reformed Churches abroad*, touching the *English Episcopacy?*

N. C. **You may read their** *Judgments* **in their** *Practises*; **Or 'tis but looking into the** *Reformation*, **in** *France*, *Holland*, **and the** *Neighbourhood*, **and you may resolve your self, in that Point.**

C. Truly I find nothing at all to your *Advantage*, which way soever I look; *Luther* himself distinguishes betwixt *Popish Tyrants*, and *True Bishops*, and professes to Condemn them as *Popish*, not as *Bishops*.

Apol. Conf. p. 137.

De Reform. adverſ. Eccleſ. p. 95.

The Authors of the *Augustane Confession* profess; that they would willingly preserve the *Ecclesiastical*, and *Canonical Politie*, if the *Bishops* would cease to *Tyrannize* over their *Churches*.

Bucer declares himself wholly, for *Bishops*, and *Metropolitans*: And *Melanthon* to *Luther*; *You would not Imagine* (says he) *how some People are* Nettled, *to see* Church-Polity *restor'd*: *as if it were the* Romish Sovereignty *again*. *Ita de* Regno suo, *non de* Evangelio, *dimicant Socii nostri*. *As if the* Quarrel *were* Dominion, *not* Religion.

Calvin acknowledges, that *the Ancient Government*, *by* Arch-Bishops, *and* Bishops; *and the* Nicene Constitution *of* Patriarchs,

Patriarchs, *was for* Orders *ſake*, *and* Good Government. And delivers himſelf to *Cardinal Sadolet*, with an *Anathema* upon *the Oppoſers of that* Hierarchy, *which ſubmits it ſelf to* Jeſus Chriſt.

Zanchie (the Compiler of the *Gallican Confeſſion*) obſerves a Change of *Name*, rather then of *Office*, throughout moſt of the *German Churches*: As *Super-Intendents*, and *General-Super Intendents*, in the place of *Biſhops*, and *Arch-Biſhops*: Acknowledging that *by the Conſent of* Hiſtories, Counſels, *and the* Ancient Fathers, Thoſe Orders *have been Generally* allowed *by all* Chriſtian Societies. *Where they are in Exerciſe, let them continue; and where, by the Iniquity of the Times, they have been aboliſh'd, they ought to be reſtor'd.*

Beza (the rigid Succeſſor of *Calvin*) in excuſe to the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, for meddling beyond his Sphere:—*We do not charge* (ſays he) *all* Arch-Biſhops, *and* Biſhops, *with* Tyranny.—*The Church of* England *hath afforded many* Learned *Men, and many Glorious Martyrs of That Function. If That Authority be there ſtill, may a perpetual Bleſſing go along with it.* This, in the Name of *the whole Church of Geneva*, and Addreſſed, *To the Primate of*

of all England. Totius Angliæ Primati. *Saravia*, arguing for the *Hierarchy* out of the *Apoſtles Canons*, *Beza* returns him This Anſwer. *This is no more, then what we wiſh might be reſtor'd to all Churches.* [Quid aliud hic ſtatuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Eccleſiis reſtitutum cupimus?

Beza cont. Saravi. p. 116.

View of the Government, p. 5. Ibid. p. 6.

The Three Kingdoms of *Swede*, *Denmark*, and *Norway* (as Mr. *Durell* obſerves) retein the *Order* ſtill, of *Biſhops*, and *Arch-Biſhops*. In the *Proteſtant Cantons* of *Switzerland*, there is alſo a *Subordination* of *Miniſters*. And ſo in the *Palatinate*; in *Heſſen*; the Duke of *Brandenburgh's* Territories; *Anhalt*, *Bremen*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, &c.

Ibid. p. 122

Come we now into *France*, *Holland*, and *Geneva*. And firſt hear *Mr. du Boſc* of the *Reformed Church* of *Caen*. *Well-ordered* Epiſcopacy *hath moſt Important, and Conſiderable Utilities, which cannot be found in the* Presbyterian Diſcipline.

Ibid. p. 125

Mr. Gaches, one of the *Miniſters* of *Charenton*. *The beſt Men in our Churches* (ſays he) *have honour'd the* Prelates *of* England.—*The Name of* Schiſm *may do more harm to the Church in one Year; then the Exerciſe of* Epiſcopal Authority *can do in an Age.* And again: *Sin hath brought in-*

in the Neceſſity *of* Government; *and the* Failings *of* Miniſters *make the* Order *of* Biſhops Neceſſary.

Mr. le Moyn, of *Rouen*, pronounces it to be *want of* Prudence, *and* Charity, *if any ſeek the Ruine of* Biſhops. [*I truſt that his Majeſty will be ſure to re-eſtabliſh the* Authority *of the* Engliſh Church, *and uſe his Power for a perfect Re-union of all the* Reformed Churches; *which that he may Effect, His Majeſty muſt preſerve his* Biſhops. Ibid. 138. Ibid. 140.

I hold it impoſſible (ſays *Mr. Gayon* of *Bourdeaux*) *that* England *can ever be* quiet, *and* flouriſh, *but under the* Epiſcopal Government. Ibid. 146.

In *Holland*, *Bogermannus*, (the *Preſident* of the *Synod* at *Dort*) upon a Suggeſtion from the Biſhop of *Landaff*, how fit a Remedy *Epiſcopacy* would be for the Suppreſſion of *Hereſies*, and *Schiſms*, made this Reply; *Domine, non ſumus adeò fœlices*] We are not ſo happy, My Lord. And for *Geneva*, we have the Voices of the Principals of that Church alſo, for the *Authority*, and *Advantage* of *Epiſcopal Government*. So that if you be no better *Seconded* againſt our *Ceremonies*, then you are againſt our *Biſhops*, you have the whole Scream of *Proteſtant Divines* againſt Ibid. 118.

you. This is according to what I have formerly had occasion to deliver, upon *This Subject*.

Petition for Peace, p. 5.

N. C. We do dissent, upon just Reasons, from the **Ecclesiastical Hierarchy**, *or* **Prelacy**, (*DISCLAIMED IN COVENANT*) *as it was Stated, and Exercised in These Kingdoms*; *yet do not, nor ever did renounce the* **True, Ancient, Primitive Episcopacy**, *as it was* **Balanced**, *or* **Menaged** *by a* **Due Commixtion** *of* **Presbyters** *therewith.*

C. We are not here to Debate the *Qualifications*, and *Limits* of the *Episcopacy* you pretend to: but to proceed, having made it appear, that the *Hierarchy*, which, (under Colour of *Reduction*, or *Commixtion*) you formerly *rooted out*, and are now again *undermining*; is That very *Hierarchy*, which you have now heard *Reverenced*, and *Recommended* by so many *Venerable Testimonies*. Or, if after all This, you can but produce *one Publick Act* of any *Protestant Church*, beyond the Seas, in favour of your Claim, do it; and save your Party the Credit, of not being *Single*, and *Particular* in your *Schism*. What have you next to say against our *Ceremonies*?

N. C. All the **best Reformed Churches** of

of Chriſt, (*who only are Competent Judges in this Caſe, and to whoſe* Judgment, *and* Example, *we ought rather to Conform our ſelves, in* Ceremonies, *then to the* Synagogue *of* Anti-Chriſt) *do eſteem thoſe* Ceremonies, Needleſs, Inexpedient, *and Fit to be* Abolished: *How the Churches of other Countries approve of them, may appear ſufficiently by this, that they have baniſhed the uſe of them out of their Aſſemblies.* The Old Non-Conformiſt, p. 21.

C. Are they only *NEEDLESS, INEXPEDIENT*, and *FIT* to be *Abolish'd* then? I thought you would have found them abſolutely *UNLAWFUL, IDOLATROUS*, and upon pein of *DAMNATION*, not to be *RETEINED*. According to This Meaſure, What will become of the whole Frame of our Government, if it ſhall take you in the head, to ſay the ſame thing of every *Law*, and *Conſtitution* of the Land? *Ceremonies* will not down with you, becauſe they are *Needleſs, Inexpedient, &c.* I beſeech you, ſhew me the *Needfulneſs* of *Killing*, and *Plundring*, or the *Expedience* of *Diſſolving Publique Laws*, and *Depopulating Kingdoms*: And yet Theſe are Matters you can *Swallow*, even without *Chewing*. *Needleſs?* And

Inexpedient? Softly, I beseech you; you are for teaching your *Governours* more *WIT*, as well as more *Religion*, and *Conscience*.

N. C. Keep to your *Text* I pray'e; for we are not now upon the *Lawfulness* of the *English Ceremonies*; but upon an Enquiry, What *Entertainment* they receive in the *judgment*, and *Practise* of *other Reformed Churches*: without engaging our selves in any other Consideration of their *Reason*, and *Convenience*. *I* say, *they are banish'd out of their Assemblies*, and *you* are at *Liberty* (if you can) to prove the *Contrary*.

C. Let us first see how far we agree upon the Allowance of any *Ceremonies* at all, and where to place the *Right*, and *Authority* of Imposing them.

The Church of England *thinks it convenient, that every Country should use such* Ceremonies *as they shall think best, to the setting forth of God's Honour, and Glory, &c.* Which is according to the sense of *Other Reformed Churches*, as appears by their several *Confessions*.

With *Us* agrees, first, the Church of *Helvetia*. [*Churches have always used their Liberty in* Rites, *as being things* Indifferent. *which we also do at this Day.* That Cap. 27.

of

of *Bohemia* likewise: [Humane Traditions, *and* Ceremonies, *brought in by a Good Custom, are with an Uniform Consent to be retained in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of Christian People, at the Common Service of God.* Cap. 15.

The *Gallican*; [*Every Place may have their* Peculiar Constitutions, *as it shall seem meet for them.* Art. 32.

The *Belgique*; [*We receive those Laws that are fit, either to cherish or maintain Concord, or to keep us in the Obedience of God.* Art. 32.

That of *Ausburgh*; [Ecclesiastical Rites, *which are Ordein'd by* Man's Authority, *and tend to Quietness, and Good Order in the Church, are to be Observed.* Art. 15.

That of *Saxony*; [*For* Order *sake, there must be some* Decent, *and* Seemly Ceremonies. Art. 20.

That of *Swethland*; *Such Traditions of Men, as agree with the Scriptures, and were Ordeined for Good Manners, and the Profit of Men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God then of Man.* Cap. 14.

N. C. The Question is not, about an *Agreement* in *Ceremonies* that may be Exercised without *Offence*, either to *God*, or *Man*; (according to your Instances) but about their Liking, or Dislike, of Those in Practise among Us: As the *Surplice*; *Kneeling* at the *Communion*; The *Cross* in *Baptism*, and the like.

C. As to the *SURPLICE*; *Mr. Durell* tells you, that the *Churches* that *Conform* to the *Confession* of *Augsburgh*, have the very same *Ceremonies* with the *Church* of *England*: And *Surplices* in many Places. And further; that a *National Assembly* at *Charenton*, Anno 1631. *hath declared, that there is neither* Idolatry, *nor* Superstition *in That Worship.* The *Protestant Ministers* also in *Bohemia*, *Lithuania*, *Prussia*, make no Scruple at all of *Preaching* in *Surplices*, whensoever they are called upon to *Preach* where *Surplices* are used. Nay, *Calvin* himself, does not approve of *Hooper*'s violent *Inconformity* in that Point. [*De Pileo, & Veste Linea, maluissem (ut illa etiam non probem) non usque adeo ipsum pugnare: Idque nuper suadebam.* And let *Mr. Baxter* pin the Basket. *Some Decent Garment is necessary; either the Magistrate, or Minister himself, or the Associated Pastors must determine what. If the Magistrate or Synod tie all to one Habit,* (Suppose it *Indecent*) *yet this is but an Imprudent use of Power, and the thing it self being* Lawful, I would *Obey*, and *use that Garment.*

View of the Government, p. 5.

Ibid. p. 24. 25.

Ep. Bullingero, fol. 98

Baxter's Five Disputations, disp. 5. cap. 2. sect. 40.

N. C. You only make mention, where

where it has been *uſed*, and *permitted*; but you take no Notice where it has been *Rejected*. And then the Perſonal *Authorities* you cite, in *favour* of it, declare their *Judgments* to be ſtill *againſt* it.

C. But only ſo againſt it, as not to Allow of a *Separation*, upon *That Scruple*. Now whereas you object the *Refuſal*, or *Rejection* of *it*, elſewhere: It does not follow, that every Church *diſallows*, what it does not *Practiſe*: And it ſhall content me, to find the *Practiſe* of ſo *many Churches for* us, and *None*, *againſt* us.

As to *KNEELING* at the *Communion*; the *Bohemian Churches* uſe that *Poſture*, and ſo do the Churches of *Poland*. With whom, the *French*, and *Dutch* do ſo far agree, as *In hoc Ritu, ſuam cuique Eccleſiæ Libertatatem ſalvam relinquere*. To leave every Church at its own Freedom, in that Particular.] *Mr. Baxter* in his *Five Diſputations*, does alſo profeſs, *that rather then diſturb the Peace of the Church, he would* Kneel *too*; How hardly ſoever he may think of the Impoſition. So that in the Caſe of *Kneeling*, likewiſe, we have *ſeveral* of the *Reformed Churches* that joyn with us

in the *Practise* of it, and not so much as any *one* of them, that appears in our *Condemnation*.

View of the Government, p. 41.

Touching the Use of the *CROSS* in *Baptism*; (beside the undeniable *Antiquity* of the Custom) you may hear from *Mr. Durell*, that *The Reformed Churches of the Confession of* Augsburgh, *do for the most part, use it; and that at* Paris, *many Children of the Church of* Charenton, *have been Baptized in the Chappels of the* English Embassadours *there, according to the* Rites *of the Church of* England. And moreover, that only the *Nonconforming English*, and *Scotch oppose* it. I could enlarge my self, upon very good Authority, to the justification of our way of Worship, *throughout*, in every *Particular* of your *Exceptions*; but I will rather chuse to encounter *all your Objections at once*; by proving, that the *Protestant Churches, Abroad*, have as great a *Reverence* for the *Authority, Rites*, and *Ceremonies* of the *Church* of *England*, in the whole Frame of the *Constitution*, as they have a *Kindness* for the *several Parts* of it, which they do *severally Exercise* among *Themselves*.

I must still be beholden to the Industry of

of the Reverend *Durell*, who has much obliged us with a clear, and Methodical Manifestation of the *Agreement* of the *Church of England*, (as it is now Established by the **Act of Uniformity**) with *other Reformed Churches beyond the Seas.*

Sir John Colladon (one of his Majesties Physicians in Ordinary) *had the Honour to Congratulate his Majesties Restauration, from the City and Church of* Geneva, *and from the* Protestant Cantons *in* Switzerland. *Upon his Departure, he put this* Quære *to the Rulers of the said Church*; Whether he might Lawfully Joyn with the Church of *England*, in Publique Worship, and receive the Holy Sacrament according to the usual Rites thereof? *It was Answer'd, That he might; and that it was not to be Question'd.* View of the Govet. p. 63.

Here is also, *A whole* French Reformed Congregation, that hath *Conformed to the* Rites, *and* Ceremonies *of the* Church *of* England, to the great Satisfaction of the *Divines* of *Rouen*, *Paris*, *Geneva*, *Bourdeaux*, &c. And since the Establishment of This Church, divers Ministers have come over, from *Geneva*, *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Piemont*; *Students*, *Elders*, *Private Persons*: And none Ibid. p. 73. Ibid. p. 90. Ibid. p. 92.

none of them ever yet refused, either to *Assist*, or to Conform.

Ibid. 64. *Mr. de Laune*, *Minister* of the *Wallons Church* at *Norwich*; and *Mr. Calendrin*, one of the *Ministers* of the *Dutch Church* in *London*, have divers times *Officiated* in *English Congregations*, according to the Book of *Common Prayer* of the *Church* of *England*] Without any Scandal, either Given or Taken.

Nay, so far are they from *disowning* Ib. 69, 72. us, that the *French Divines* hold them for *Schismatiques*, and *Punishable*, that *refuse Communion* with us. * Bucer *thanks God with all his Soul*, *to see the* English Ceremonies *so* pure.

* Scripta Anglican. p. 455.

N. C. **And have they, I beseech you, their** *Set Forms?* **Their** *Peremptory Impositions?* **Their** *Declarations*, **and** *Subscriptions?*

C. Yes, yes: All This, and more. For *Set Forms*, methinks you should rather tell me *any one Reformed Church* that *wants* a *Set Form*, then put me to the Trouble of *Naming* all that *have*. *Calvin*, and *Beza* are Positive for them. *Geneva*, much more severe for the Observance of them, then we are here; *Inconformity There*, is cause of *Banishment* for a *Year*: And the *Gallican Church* makes it a matter

ter of *Excommunication*. *In Geneva*; *Calvin* Eſtabliſh'd his *Diſcipline* by an *OATH*, both upon *People*, and *Paſtors*, *to obſerve That Form for ever after*. The *Miniſters* take an *Oath* of *Canonical Obedience*, in *Hungary*; And the *French Divines* are not admitted, without *Subſcription*. There's no Impoſing upon *Publique Laws*, with *Private Scruples*: No Bandying allow'd, betwixt *Conſcience*, and *Authority*: *He that will not ſubmit to the Orders of a* Community, *Away with him*. (ſays *Calvin*) It is not enough to take cheque at the *Conſtitutions* of the *Church*, under colour of a weak *Conſcience* (or ſo pretended) but you muſt be fully ſatisfied, that the *Conſtitution* is *Wicked IN IT SELF*. Nay, *Calvin* carries it further. Suppoſe it really *miniſters Matter of Offence*; (ſays he) *That will not ſerve to vacate the Obligation*, unleſs it be alſo found to be *Simply*, and *IN IT SELF Repugnant* to *the Word of God*. [*Quia tamen Verbo Dei* PER SE *non Repugnat*, *Concedi poteſt*. To provide againſt *Evil Conſequences*, is the *Magiſtrates* Duty, not the *Subjects*. Hooker's Eccleſ. Pol. Preface.

N. C. The Worſhip *of God*, *is in it ſelf* Pure, *and* Perfect, *and* Decent, *without having any ſuch* Ceremonies *affixed* Two Papers of Propoſals, p. 7, 8.

fixed thereunto; [*And many Faithful Servants of the Lord, knowing his* Word *to be a Perfect Rule of* Faith, *and* Worship, *have ever been exceeding fearful of* Warping *from his* Will, *and of the Danger of Displeasing him, by* Additions, *or* Detractions, *in such Duties.*

C. You will hardly find any honest Prefident for this *Nicety*. (*Calvin* would have given it a *worse Name*) *Testatum Volim* (says he) *me non de* Ceremoniis *Litigare, quæ* Decoro *tantum*, & Ordini *Serviant: vel etiam* Symbola *sunt, & Incitamenta ejus quam Deo deferimus Reverentiæ.* He Declares himself, you see, not only for *Ceremonies*, of *Order*, and *Decency*; but for *Ceremonies* of *Significancy*, and *Incitement* to *Reverence* and *Devotion.* And in another place, *Ergone* (Inquies) *nihil Cæremoniarum rudioribus dabitur, ad juvandam Eorum Imperitiam? Id ego non dico; omnino enim utile illis esse sentio, hoc Genus Adminiculi.*] Will you allow of *no Ceremonies* then at all, (you'l say) for the *Instruction* of the *Vulgar?* You do not hear me say so; for I am clearly of opinion; that they are of very great *use*, and *service* to the People.

Instituit. lib. 4. ca. 9. sect. 14.

Upon the Main; The *English Non-Con-*

Conformists, (as *Mr. Durell* well observes) are a sort of People by themselves: and *Non-Conformists*, at *Geneva*, and *Francfort*, as well as at *Canterbury*, or *London*.

N. C. **But still, methinks, whatever our *Consciences* are as to the way of *Publick Worship*, we might yet be Indulged with an Allowance of Serving God among our selves. Why should a *Toleration* do worse *Here*, then in *Holland*?**

C. I might *Answer* you with another *Question*. Why should a *Commonwealth* do worse *Here*, then in *Holland*? Or Why should a *Standing Army* do worse *Here*, then in *Holland*? Beside; If you look narrowly into it, you will find the *Dissenters* from the *Settlement* There, to be rather *Strangers*, then *Natives*. *English*, *French*, *High-Dutch*, that flowed in to them upon the General Revolt from the Church of *Rome*: *Lutherans*, and *Anabaptists*, out of *Germany*; *Calvinists* out of *France*; *Separatists*, and *Semiseparatists* out of *England*, in the Days of *Queen Mary*, and *Independents*, since; all which were entertein'd, more out of Regard to *Policy*, then *Conscience*; their Business being at that time to shake off the Yoke

of

of *Spain*, and *Change* the *Government*: To which End, these *several Parties* contributed effectually, by preparing the People for the Alteration Intended; and inuring them to *New Principles*, both of *Religion*, and *State*.

And yet you are not to understand *Theirs* to be a *Perfect Toleration* neither. For you see, they would not, upon any terms, allow That Freedom to the *Arminians*, which they did to *Others*; but Conven'd a *Synod*, and *Exterminated* the *Sect*. The reason was, they had a Jealousie of the *Arminians*, for *Barnevelt's* sake, the Head of that Party.

You are to take notice also of the great difference betwixt the *Interest*, and *Condition*, of *Our Ministers*, and *Theirs*. *Our Clergy have a Freehold in their Benefices for Term of Life*; and if they be *Factiously disposed*, they may Evade the *Law*, and do a *Mischief*, without making a *Forfeiture*. Whereas *Theirs* Preach upon *Good Behaviour*; Live upon the *States Pay*; and upon the least Colour of *Offence*, may be *turn'd off* at pleasure. I need not tell you what Havock, *Peters*, *Bridges*, *Sympson*, *Ward*, made in *Holland*: But what they did *Abroad*, the same thing they would have done at *Home*, if they had been *Tolerated*. *N. C.*

N. C. **What do ye think of *Poland* then?**

C. I think, That Story speaks little to your Advantage: take it either in Respect of their frequent *Seditions*, or in Regard of their Prodigious, and Heretical *Opinions*: And yet they live under the strongest Obligation in Nature to keep them quiet; The *Tartar*, and other *Powerful Neighbours*, lying hard upon them; which makes their Case to be rather an *Agreement* against a *Common Enemy*, then among *Themselves*.

N. C. **Now take all at the worst; It is but *Athanasius* against the *World*, and the *World* against *Athanasius*. *Number* and *Truth*, are not always of a Side.**

C. And yet *Your Multitudes* make up a great part of your *Argument*. This however let me speak for you; There has no *Industry* been wanting to Propagate your *Profession*.

In the Year 1619. The *Scotch Discipline* was presented to the *Synod* at *Dort*, for their *Approbation*: But they would not meddle with it. Spotswoods Hist. Scot. p. 540.

Anno 1654. Upon the Reprinting (at *Geneva*) of A *Collection* of the *several Confessions of Faith*, received in all the *Reformed*

Mr. Durells View of the Government, p. 173.

Reformed Churches of *Europe*; under the Title of, *Corpus, & Syntagma Confessionum Fidei, &c.* It was moved that the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the *Church of England*, might be left out, and the *Assembly Mens Confession*, put in the place: But the Motion was totally rejected; The *Thirty nine Articles Inserted*, and not a Word of the *Directory*.

They had no better luck with their *Covenant* neither, then with their *Discipline*.

The late Kings large Declarat. p. 75.

[*The* Ministers, *and others of the* Consistory *at* Charenton, *and of other* Reformed Churches *in* France; *as also the* Professours, Ministers, *and* Consistory *of* Geneva, *and of other Neighbouring Reformed Churches in those Parts, were so scandalized with this Prodigious Covenant, as that they were afraid of nothing more, then this, that it would bring an indeleble* Scandal *upon the* Reformed Churches, *and alienate the Minds of all the Princes of* Christendom, *from ever entertaining a good Thought of their Religion.*

The *Venerable Assembly* of *English Divines*, and *Scotch Commissioners* (as they stiled Themselves) sent the Copy of their *Covenant*, and a *Solemn Invitation* to *Seventeen Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas to *Joyn* with them. Their Letter should

should have been *Latin*; But so it was, that they left it *a Measuring Cast*, whether they were the better *Christians*, *Casuists*, *Subjects*, or *Grammarians*. Their skill was most employ'd, in Exhorting the *French Protestants* to follow *Their Example*, and cast off the Yoke of *Antichrist*; (that is to say, of *Obedience*) And in Calumniating their *Sovereign*, as a *Confederate* with the *Popish Interest*, to destroy the *Protestancy*. Which *Design*, was only to be *obviated*, by a *Holy League*. This was the Drift of the *Address*; But we never heard Syllable of the *Answer*.

There needs no more be said to prove the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches strong*, and *unanimous* against you; and you had best make a Trial, if you can supply by *Reason*, and *Argument*, what you want in *Countenance*, and *Authority*.

SECT. XX.

The Non-Conformiſts Exceptions *to Our* Publique Way *of* Worſhip, *found Guilty of Great* IMPIETY, *and* ERROUR.

C. WHat are your *Exceptions to Our Way* of *Worſhip?* Are they *General*; or *Particular?* Is it the *Impoſition it ſelf*, or *the Thing Impoſed*, that diſpleaſes you?

N. C. **Why truly** *Both.* **The** *One* **takes away my** *Chriſtian Liberty*; **and the** *Other*, **the** *Liberty* **of my** *Conſcience.* **The greateſt part of** *my* **Trouble, is the** *Act* **of** *Uniformity.*

C. Is it the *Model*, or the *Uniformity* you ſtick at?

N. C. *Both* **alike**; **for neither is the** *Particular Act* **fram'd to** *my Satisfaction*: **nor is it poſſible that any** *One Form* **of** *Worſhip* **ſhould ſuit** *All Judgments.*

C. Will *Toleration* ſuite *All Judgments*, any better then *Uniformity?* But, I perceive, you do not accompt the *Sanction* of any *One* Form *whatſoever* to be *Lawful.* *N. C.*

N. C. Indeed I do not think it *Lawful* for a *Magistrate* to enjoyn any thing upon a *Penalty*, which a *Private Person* may not *Conscientiously Obey* him in; but do I think it *Warrantable*, for a Man to *Obey* any *Humane Command*, against the Dictate of his *Conscience*.

C. Put This together now. First, *It is not* Possible *that any* One Form *of Worship should suit* All Judgments: And then, *It is not* Lawful *to enjoyn any thing upon a* Penalty, *which does* Not *suit* All Judgments. What is This, but a meer *Trifling* of *Government*; to suppose a *Law*, without an *Obligation*?

Again; If the *Magistrate* cannot *Impose*, neither can he *Tolerate*; unless you'l suppose him a more Competent Judge of *Your* Conscience, then of his *Own*: for you *allow* him to Understand what he may *Tolerate*, and *deny* him the Knowledge of what he may *Impose*. So that either he has no *Power*, or no *Reason* to favour you. No *Power*, as you state his *Capacity*; And no *Reason*, as you disclaim his *Authority*. But you were saying, that the *Imposition* takes away your *Christian Liberty*. As how, I beseech ye?

N. C. In making Those things *Necessary*, which Christ left *Free*. For

wherein does *Christian Liberty* may concern it self, then in the *Free use of Indifferent*, or the *Forbearance* of *Doubtful* things, which we are bound entirely to preserve; And whereof, by your *Ecclesiastical Injunctions*, we stand *Depriv'd*!

C. If the *King* be *Ty'd up*, in Matters that are either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*; and the *People* left at *Liberty*, in things *Indifferent*: I would fain know what *Authority* has to work upon. But this Point will fall in of it self by and by. Though enough be said already, to prove your *Position* utterly *destructive* of *Order* and *Society*. For there is but *Good*, *Bad*, and *Indifferent*, in Nature: What we are *BOUND* to do; What we are Bound *NOT* to do; and What we may either *DO*, or *LET ALONE*. (That is to say, without the Interposal of some Incidental *Obligation* to *determine* that *Indifference*)

The Asserters of this Doctrine, fetch their Warrant for it, out of *St. Paul* to the *Galatians* 5. 1. *Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us Free*. Upon *This Text* they ground their *Exemption*. But *here* they prudently *stop* too; for the *Context* would have spoil'd all: And they might as well have Argu'd against

againſt the *Efficacy* of *Chriſt's Death*, from the *latter* part of the *ſecond Verſe*, as for *Chriſtian Immunity*, (in the Latitude they underſtand it) from the *former* part of the *firſt*. The *Apoſtle* goes on in Theſe Words; *And be not entangled AGAIN with the Yoke of Bondage.* 2 *Behold*; *I* Paul *ſay unto you, that if ye be CIRCUMCISED*, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. 3 *For I teſtifie again to every Man that is CIRCUMCISED, that he is a Debtor to do the whole Law.*

The Caſe, briefly, was This. By the Coming of our Bleſſed Saviour, the *Jewiſh Ceremonies* were *aboliſh'd*: Some that had a mind to Continue them, and keep the People ſtill under the Yoke of the *Law*, ſtood for the Doctrine of the *Circumciſion*. (which was here the very Matter in Queſtion) The Apoſtle cautions the *Galatians* againſt it; and *not to be entangled AGAIN with the Bondage of the Law*. Which amounts only to a *Diſcharge* from the *Bondage* of *That Law* to which they were *before* Subjected; without extending That *Liberty*, to the Prejudging of *Authoritative Laws*, and *Impoſitions* for the time to *come*. As if the Apoſtle had Preached *one thing* to the

Galatians, and the *contrary* to the *Romans*, *Obedience*, at *pleaſure*, in *one* place; and *Obedience* under pein of *Damnation*, in *another*.

In the *Second*, and *Third Verſes*, *St. Paul* (you ſee) clears, and preſſes it further. As if he had ſaid; *Be Circumciſed* at your *Peril*. For *That ſingle Point* of the *Law*, makes you anſwerable for the Performance of *every Title* of it. *We*

Calv. Inſt. li. 3. ca. 19. ſect. 15. *are not* (ſays *Calvin*) (Perperam ad Politicum Ordinem) *perverſly to apply the Doctrine of* Spiritual Liberty, *to* Political Order, *as if* Chriſtians *were to be ever the leſs Subject to* External Government *by* Humane Laws, *becauſe their* Conſciences *are ſet at* Liberty *before* God. Nay, ſays

Ibid. lib 4. ca. 10. ſect. 27. he, in another place; *Si Eccleſiæ Incolumitati benè proſpectum volumus*] *The Church can never be ſafe, without* St. Paul's Decency and Order. *But in regard of the diverſity of* Cuſtoms; *and the variety of Mens* Minds, *and* Opinions; *It is not poſſible to ſecure any Polity, without the Authority of certain Laws; or to preſerve any Order, without ſome ſtated Form. Now ſo far am I from condemning any Laws conducing to this End*, [Ut his ablatis, diſſolvi ſuis Nervis Eccleſias, Totaſque Deformari, & Diſſipari contendamus]

mus] *that I look upon the Removal of them, as the Dissolution of the very Sinews of the Church, and expect nothing after it, but* DEFORMITY, *and* DISSIPATION. Nor is it to be Imagin'd, that *All things should be done* Decently, *and in* Order, (after the Apostles Precept) *but by the mediation of certain Rules, and Observations, which may serve as so many Bonds for the Regulation of that* Decency, *and* Order. *Always provided,* **That Those** *Ceremonies* **be not Imposed as** *Necessary* **to** *Salvation*, **or** *Essential* **to God's Worship.**

From your Plea for *Christian Liberty*, (which is a *Proposition*, in it self, destructive of all *Communities*) let us now move to your *next Exception*, in the Matter of *Scruple*: wich I am afraid will be found no less *Intolerable* in *Religion*, then the *other* was in *Government*; and *Dangerous* enough in *Both*.

It would take a Man an *Age* to run through all the *Quirks*, and *Niceties* of the *Question*; and to trace every *Particular*, in dispute, from the *Original* of its *Practice*, or *Institution*. And beside; It were but *Actum Agere*; for the *Lawfulness*, and the *Antiquity* of *Bishops*, *Liturgies*, and *Ceremonies*, with all the *Minutes*,

and *Circumstances* of the Case, has been abundantly, and *irrefragably* clear'd already, by many *Reverend*, and *Learned* Hands. I must not say, *Unanswerably*, because the *Opponents* would still have the *Last Word*; And they have *Replied* indeed, with much *Confidence*, and *Verbosity*; which has had the luck to pass with the *Common People*, for *Authority*, and *Reason*. The *Scripture*, and the *Fathers* (in the *Interim*) complein of very hard dealing from them, and make open *Protestation*, that they never so much as *dreamt* of what our *Novellists* deliver to the World in *Their Names*. But however, (*right* or *wrong*) Their *Margents* are still Embroder'd, with *Texts*, and *Testimonies*, in evidence of their great *Piety*, and *Abilities*: All which their Disciples *Swallow*, and *Swear* to, without understanding one Syllable of the *Matter* in *Contest*. For alas! They are a sort of People, that hold very little Intelligence, with *Antiquity*, or *Learning*. *Their* Business lies in their *Shops*, and at their *Trades*, or *Labours*. What have *They* to do with *Counsels*, and *Fathers*? What Accompt can they pretend to give, of the *Practises* of the *Primitive Times*, and the Stream of *Ecclesiastical Story*? And upon *This Hinge* moves

moves the Frame of the *whole Diſpute*; wherein they do manifeſtly *paſs Sentence* without *Knowledge*, and govern themſelves totally by an *Implicit Faith*. So that, being thus *prepoſſeſt*; It is but Scribling *on*, and keeping out of their *Reach*, to *perpetuate* the *Quarrel*. This I ſay; Unleſs the *Subject* of it, might in ſuch manner be *brought down*, and *accommodate* to the Capacity of the *Vulgar*, as to make way for an *Appeal* from the *Snares* of *Artifice*, and *Impoſture*, to the *Rules*, and *Meaſures* of *Common Reaſon*.

The Church of *England* is now labouring under the *Scandal*, and *Diſtraction* of a violent *Schiſm*; by reaſon (as we are told) of many *Doubting*, and *Scrupulous Conſciences*, that cannot *Conform* to her *Rites*, and *Orders*: and Heavy *Compleints* are advanced againſt the *Government*, on the behalf of the *Diſſenters*.

In the *firſt* place, let us enform our ſelves, *Who are the* Promoters *of this* Compleint? Secondly, *What* Warrant *have they for ſo doing?* Thirdly, *Do they* Well, *or* Ill *in't?*

N. C. **Your *firſt* Queſtion is ſoon reſolved: The *Compleinants* are the *Diſſenters*.**

C. We

C. We are never the nearer for That Answer: for neither does it appear to us, that all the *Dissenters* are *Complainants*; nor that all the *Complainants* are *Really*, and in *Truth*, *Dissenters*: Nay we are able to produce the *Hands*, and *Declarations* of many of your prime *Champions*, in Evidence to the *Contrary*. But to keep on our Course; The only *Complainants* we can take notice of, are the *Silenc'd Ministers*, in their Private *Books*, and *Sermons*.

Petition for Peace, P. 5. *N. C. Should not the Love of Christ command us to be tender of Those that are so tender of his Honour; and to take heed what we do to Men, for taking heed of Sin, and being afraid to offend the Lord? And should not the Special Love of Christians, and the Common Love of Men, command us to be loth to drive them by Penalties, upon* **that which they Judge, doth tend to their** *Everlasting Damnation*; **And which indeed doth tend to it, Because they Judge it so to do?**

Ibid. *Suppose they be* **Mistaken,** *in thinking the things to be so displeasing to God,* **Yet it is commendable in them, to be fearful of displeasing him.**

C. And do not you find now, that in the same *Breath*, you *Raise*, and *Encourage*

courage the *Scruples* you *complein* of; and plead (effectually) but for *Doubts of your own Making*. This is a Method for *Counterfeit Cripples*, not for *Faithful Ministers*; To *make Sores*, on purpose, to *Beg Plaisters*. But it is to be hop'd, that This is not done without good *Warrant*, and *Authority*: and I should be exceeding glad to see a Copy of their *Commission* for what they do.

N.C. **It is a Duty of their** *Pastoral Office*, **to have a care of their** *Sheep*.

G. But They have no *Sheep* at all, unless they steal them out of other Mens *Flocks*. I think we may take for granted, that they have no *LEGAL Warrant*: for the *Non-Conformists*, and the Act for *Uniformity*, are *profest Enemies*: And their *Proceedings* are, point-blank, in *defiance* of it.

From the *PEOPLE*, they can have none neither; For *They* are concluded already, by their own Act, (in their *Representatives*) against the very thing they pretend to. Or if *That Bar* were *away*; yes, and a *greater difficulty* too, that *follows* it; which is, The *Moral Impossibility of bringing all the People together, that are to be Parties to the Commission*:

sion: I am perswaded, it would pose the best *Conveyancers* in this Kingdom, to draw up a *Deed of Trust*, to *That Purpose*, without a *Flaw* in't. That is to say: A *Commission* from the *Diffusive Body* of the *People*, must be Directed to such and such *Ministers*, as *Commissioners* for *Tender Consciences*.

From *HEAVEN* it never came neither, I do verily believe. For most certainly *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, never Issued out any *Commission*, for the *Distracting* of *Consciences*, and *Societies*. We read indeed of *CONFIRMING the Weak*, but not a *Syllable*, of *STAGGERING* them. And for the Extraordinary Ways, of *Vision*, and *Revelation*, they are not so much as mention'd.

N. C. If you would have given me leave, I should have told you, e'en now, that they are *Warranted* by a Sense, and Impression of *Conscience*, in the Discharge of their *Pastoral Duty*: Which obliges them, [*To watch over their Flock; To preserve them from* Errours, Heresies, Divisions; *To Defend the Truth, Confute Gainsayers, and Seducers, Instruct the Ignorant, Excite the Negligent*, Encourage the Despondent,

Petit. for Peace, p. 79.

dent, *Comfort the Afflicted*, Confirm the Weak, *Rebuke, and Admonish the Disorderly, and Scandalous.*

C. Here's *much against* you, and *not one Word* in your *Favour.* Instead of *PRESERVING their Flocks FROM Heresies, and Divisions, your Pastors* demand a *down-right TOLERATION* of them. And instead of *Encouraging the Despondent, Comforting the Afflicted,* and *Confirming the Weak*; They tell the *Distressed,* (for their *Comfort*) that *if they do any thing with* Doubting, *they shall be* Damn'd; and never go further, to *deliver* them from those *Damps*; but there they very fairly leave them, *Surrounded* with *inextricable Scruples*; and their very *Souls, Broken,* and *Confounded* with *Agony,* and *Horrour.* Whether they do *Well,* or *Ill,* now be *You your self* the *Judge.*

My Opinion is, that they have as little to say for the *Conscience* of their Proceedings, as any way else. *First,* Their very *Preaching,* and *Writing,* (by reason of their *Legal Incapacity*) is a *Transgression* of the *Law. Secondly,* In the *Matter it self,* they are to blame; for it is of very evil Consequence, both upon the *Publique,*

Publique, and upon *Particulars*. To say nothing of their Undertaking for *other Mens Consciences*, which is a *Privilege* belonging only to *God himself*.

That they do Ill, in *disobeying* the *Law*, and in *troubling* the *Government*, I suppose you will not deny; And yet am I perswaded, that the very *Foundation* of their *Plea for Separation*, and Dissent, is the greatest part of the Mischief. We have *Laws Ecclesiastical*, for the *Ordering* of the *Church*; and you refuse to *Obey* them. For what *Reason*, I beseech you? N. C. The best *Guide* in the Case of *Imposition*, and *Obedience*, I take to be *the Word of God*; and our *Doubtings* here are very *Reasonable*, concerning *God's Worship*, where the *Scripture* gives no *Direction*. Shew us where they are *Commanded* in the *Gospel*, and we are ready to *Obey* them.

C. The *Scripture* is the *Rule* of our *Faith*, not of our *Outward Actions*, and *Practise*, *Whatsoever*, *to make up the Doctrine of Man's SALVATION*, *is added*, *as in supply of the Scripture's Insufficiency*, *we reject it*. But does it therefore follow, that *ALL things Lawful to be done*, *are comprehended in the Scripture*? *Limit This*, *and God in Delivering*

Hooker's Eccl. Pol. li. 2. sect. 8.

Ibid.

livering Scripture to his Church, ſhould clear have abrogated amongſt them, the Law of Nature, *which is,* An Infallible Knowledge Imprinted in the Minds of all the Children of Men, *directing us in the Choice of Good and Evil, in the Daily Affairs of this Life. Admit This; and what ſhall the* Scripture *be, but a* Snare, *and a* Torment *to* Weak Conſciences, *filling them with Infinite* Perplexities, Scrupuloſities, Doubts Inſoluble, *and Extreme* Deſpairs. *Nots that the* Scripture it ſelf *doth cauſe any ſuch thing, but the* Neceſſities of this Life, *urging Men to do that which the* Light of Nature, Common Diſcretion, *and* Judgment *of it ſelf directeth Men unto. On the* other ſide, This Doctrine *teaching them that* ſo to do, *were to ſin againſt their* Souls; *and that they put forth their Hands to* Iniquity, *whatſoever they go about, and have not firſt the* Sacred Scripture *of God for their* Direction. *How can it chuſe but bring the Simple a Thouſand Times to their Wits End? How can it chuſe but vex and amaze them; to be obliged in every Action of Common Life, to find out ſome Sentence of Scripture, Clearly, and Infallibly ſetting forth, what we ought to do? Admit This, and it ſhall not be with Maſters, as it was* Ibid.

with

with him in the Gospel; but Servants being commanded to go, shall stand still, *till they have their Errand warranted unto them by Scriptures.* Thus far the Learned *Hooker*: in Agreement with Mr. *Calvin*, (the *Oracle* of the other Party) in his Chapter of *Christian Liberty*, who writes to this Effect.

Calv. Inst. l. 3. c. 19. sect. 7. *Let every Man have a care not to make things* Indifferent, *Matters of* Religion; *for nothing can be more necessary then the right understanding of That Liberty*; without which, we shall never have any Peace of Conscience, and there will be no End of Superstition. [*Quæ si aberit, nulla Conscientiis nostris futura est Quies; Nullus Superstitionum finis*] He that Scruples the *Lawfulness* of *Eating*, or *Drinking Delicacies*, will by *degrees*, let his *Scruple fall* to *Meats and Drinks less Delicate*, and so *from one thing, to another, Lower, and Lower*; (and all this while, in a perpetual *Anxiety of Conscience*) till he comes at last to satisfie himself, that what he *takes*, both for *Quantity*, and *Quality*, is but just sufficient to entertein the absolute *Necessities* of *Nature*. He must have a *Text* for every thing he does; and not step over a Straw, without consulting *Scripture* first: and

and every *Common Action* is made a *Case of Conscience*. From this miserable *Perplexity of Mind*, what can be expected, but *Despair*, and *Confusion*? *Hanging*, *Drowning*, *Cutting of Throats*, and all the wretched Extremities of *Violence*, which those poor Creatures exercise upon themselves, as their *last Retreat*, to avoid the *Fury* of a *Tormenting Conscience*.

This is the *Fruit* of the *Doctrine* of *CHRISTIAN LIBERTY*; a *Dangerous*, and an *Impious Position*; and can have no other *Aim*, (In Truth, scarce any other *Issue*) than the *Vacating* of *Humane Laws*; and the *Extermination* of all Principles of *Duty*, and *Subjection* out of the Hearts of the *People*. But to be as short as may be, you see the *Effects* of your *Scruples*; pray'e speak a little to the *Grounds* of them. What *Exceptions* have you to our *COMMON PRAYER*? And see if you do not from one end to the other, fall foul upon your Arguments.

N. C. It is devised by Men. Tryal of the Engl. Liturgy, p. 4.

C. So are *your Ministers Prayers*; and *all Prayers* whatsoever, *Scripture-Forms Excepted.*

N. C. **It is** *Imposed* **upon the** *Minister*, **and** *People*, **of** *Necessity.* Ibid. p. 5.

C. The *Imposition* of the *Directory* was

yet more *General*, *Strict*, and *Peremptory*. There was no *Dispensation* for a *Family*, and *Four more*, which, as it might be improv'd, takes in well nigh the whole Kingdom.

N. C. **But your** *Common Prayer* **is** *stinted*, **both in** *Matter*, **and** *Words*, **to be used without** *Variation*: **and so was not the** *Directory*.

C. Why may not the *Church* impose a *Stinted Form* upon the *Minister*, as well as the *Minister*, (if he so pleases) upon the *People*? For if the *Minister* be left at *Liberty* either to keep to *one Form*, or to *vary*, at his own *Election*, The *Congregation* is at *his Mercy*, whether they shall have a *Stinted Form*, or *No*. *Smectymnuus* is so gracious as to allow of a *Stinted*
Page 11. *Form*, *Himself*; *in Case the Minister shall be found insufficient to discharge the Duty of Prayer in a* Conceived way: *But then it is to be Imposed on him as a* Punishment: *To use* Set Forms, *and* no other. So that it is not the *Unlawfulness* it seems, of a *Set Form*, nor the *Imposition*, but the *Inexpedience* you stumble at: And the World is at a fine pass sure, when the *Parliament of England* shall not presume to make *Laws*, without asking the *Sitting Ministers* Opinions first, about the *Expe-*

Expedience of them. The *Directory*, as to the *Matter* of it, is as well a *Stinting* of the *Spirit*, as the *Common Prayer*. For in the *Substance*, and *Scope* of the Prayer, the Minister is *limited*; only for the *WORDING* of it, he is at his own *Freedom*: And if he may but Turn *ALMIGHTY and most MERCIFUL Father*, into *OMNIPOTENT and most GRACIOUS Lord God*, the Peace is concluded. Otherwise we are to look for nothing but *Fire and Sword*: *Lives*, *Laws*, and *Liberties*, must be hazzarded in the *Quarrel*.

N. C. **Do you make no difference between** *Imposing Set Forms*, **upon a** *few Insufficient Ministers*, **and upon a** *Multitude of Others*, **in Common, that have the** *Gift of Prayer*?

C. No, none at all, as to the *Exemption* of Any Man from the *General Rule*. Beside; What Security can any Man give, that he shall continue in the Right Exercise of his *Reason*? Put case your *Gifted Minister* should be taken with some Distemper that seizes the *Brain*, and *Disorders*, (or but *Clouds*) his *Understanding*: Nay, let it be only some *faint*, *drowsie Indisposition* of *Body*, or *heaviness* of *Mind*; What becomes of the *Assembly*, under so

Languid, Spiritless, (and perchance *Extravagant*) a *Dispensation*?

Further: The *Right*, and the *Reason* too, of *Imposing* upon *One Minister*, extends to *All*.

Again: If a *Set Form* may be admitted, where the *Minister* is not good at *Extempore*; What becomes of your Argument, I beseech ye, for the *Consciences* of the *CONGREGATION*? Unless you understand the *Weakness* of the *Minister* to be a *Dispensation* for the *Scruples* of the *People*; In which case, it may be lawful for the King and Parliament to Impose a *Service-Book*.

And yet again: Over and above the *Vanity*, and the *Arrogance* of the *Undertaking*; do me but the favour to consider, what an *Irreverence*, what a *Prophanation* of Gods Holy *Worship*, and *Ordinances*, must needs ensue upon it. The *Desk* is turn'd into an *Oratory*, as well for the *TRYAL* of *Gifts*, and *Faculties*, as for the *EXERCISE* of them: and half the Business the *Congregation* has at *Church*, is to hear Men *Talk* to *God Almighty*, upon their *Probation*: which is done too, (God knows it, even at the best) not without great *Imperfections*, and *Failings*; witness their [*Affectations*, *Empti-*

Emptiness, Impertinency, Rudeness, Confusion, Flatness, Levity, Obscurity, vain, and Ridiculous Repetitions, their Senseless, and oft-times Blasphemous Expressions:] which are but *Helps* at a *Plunge*, either to gain time for the recovery of their lost Matter, or to *stop Gaps*, and *fill up Broken Sentences*. Now where's the *Life*, and *Power* (as you call it) of *Devotion*, all this while; when the *Whole Man* is taken up, (and all little enough too) about *Words*, and *Periods*; And the Ministers chief Care diverted from the *Saving of Souls*, to the *Saving of his own Credit?* Hence proceeds That *Agreement* of *Tone*, and *Emphasis*, in all their *Exclamations*, *Acted Passions*, and *Vain Repetitions*, with now and then a *Groan* drawn out to a most *Doleful Length* for a *Parenthesis*. For *they are all sick of the same Disease*, and these *Interjections* give them a little *Breath*, and *Respit*, for *Recollection*. Now in This loss of *Sense*, and *Order*, How is it possible for the *Affections* of the *Congregation*, to keep company with the *Minister* in all his *Wandrings*, *Doubtings*, and *Circumlocutions?* The *one half* of their *Intention* is spent in *Divining* (before-hand) what he *drives at*; and the *other*, in *unriddling* his *Meaning*, when

Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, p. 127.

when he has *Deliver'd* it. Whereas in *Set-Forms*, both *Minister* and *People* are *freed* from These *Distractions*, and totally *intent* upon the *Duty* of the *Worship*: and there is a greater *Harmony*, and *Union* of *Affections*, when they *Pray All* at the same *Time*, in the same *Words*, and for the same *Thing*. I might insist upon the Inconvenience of leaving Ministers at *Liberty*, for fear of disturbing the *Publique*: and tell you over and over, that in our *Stinted Forms* we do but joyn in the *Common Privilege* of *Other Churches*: But more then enough is spoken Already. Let me hear now what you have to say against our *Ceremonies*.

Propofals to His Majesty, p. 22.

N. C. **Whereas** *Kneeling* **is** *Imposed, in the Act of Receiving the Lord's Supper, We desire that none may be Troubled for Receiving it* **Standing**, *or* **Sitting.**

C. You have quitted your *Hold*, I perceive, of *Scriptural Direction*, and *President*. For neither *Standing*, nor *Sitting* was the *Triclinary Posture*. But why not *Kneeling*, as well as either *Sitting*, or *Standing*?

Ibid. p. 23.

N. C. **Because** *it is a* **Novelty**; *contrary to the* **Decrees**, *and* **Practise** *of the* **Church**, *for many Hundred Years after the*

the Apostles. And it has been forbidden by **General Councils.** *And it is not Good* **also** *to shew a needless Countenance of Adoring the Bread of God.*

C. Can you shew me that *Kneeling* at the *Lord's Supper* has been *forbidden*, where *Kneeling* at *other parts* of *Publique Worship* has been *Allow'd*? Now you your selves *allow of*, and *Practise Kneeling* in other Cases, which is every jote as contrary to the *Ancient Custom*, as *Our Kneeling* at the *Sacrament*. But We must not *Kneel*, you say, for fear of *Countenancing* the *Adoration* of the *Breaden God*.

To which I Answer, that *First*, The *Doctrine* of our Church speaks directly to the *Contrary*. *Secondly*, The *Rubrick* directs *Kneeling* at the *Confession*; and the People *continue Kneeling*, at the *Receiving*.

N. C. **But with your Favour, the** *Rubrick* **does** *afresh* **enjoyn** *Kneeling*: **and order** *the Communion to be delivered into the Peoples Hands* KNEELING.

C. Right. And now take your Choice, whether we shall rather run the hazzard of being suspected to adore the *Bread*, because we receive it after the *English Gesture* of Worshipping, which is *Kneeling*; or incur the same Censure, by *Changing Posture*, and taking it after the *Ancient*

way of *Worshipping*, which is *Standing*?

If you can make appear, that where the *Custom* was to *Worship Standing*, they *Received*, *Kneeling*; you say something toward the perswading of us that *Worship Kneeling*, to *Receive Standing*.

Your *Exceptions throughout*, are much of a *Quality*; *Negatively Imposing* upon *Authority*, because you will not be *Positively bound up your selves*. For, *You shall* NOT *do This, or That, is an Imposition, as well as You* SHALL. Another Humour you have gotten, of *Scrupling* at *Ceremonies*, because they are made as *Necessary* to *Salvation*, as the *Word it self*, and the *Sacraments*. (This is the Suggestion of the *Petition for Peace*, Pa. 8.) Whereas it has been, and still it is the Constant Care of the *Imposers themselves*, by an express Solemnity of *Explanation*, to satisfie the whole World to the *Contrary*.

Give us leave only for one Word more, and that out of *Calvin's Institutions*, concerning *Scandal*; (Lib. 3. Cap. 19.) which you make one part of your Complent. There is (says he) a *Scandal* GIVEN, and TAKEN. The *One* is the *Scandal* of the *Weak*; the *Other*, of the *Pharisees*; who out of a perverse *Malignity* of

of *Spirit*, turn every thing to the *worse*. There is no *Yielding* to this sort of Men; No *Enduring*, no *Hearing* of them: [*Qui quum in mille Impietatis Formas Duces se prabent, sic sibi agendum fingunt, ne proximo sint Offendiculo.* Who, under colour of *Tenderness* in the Matter of *Scandal*, make no *Conscience* at all of a thousand *Gross Impieties*. This is *His Judgment*, and *Our Case*: And there is no Remedy, but by concluding upon a *Final*, and *Unaccomptable Judge*.

SECT. XXI.

Whatsoever God hath left INDIFFERENT, *is the* Subject *of* HUMANE POWER.

(1) AS *Reasonable Nature* consists of *Soul*, and *Body*; so is the *Authority* that Governs it, *Divine*, and *Humane*: God, *Eminently* over *All*, and *Princes Ministerially*, under Him, and as his *Substitutes*. The Dominion of our *Souls*, God reserves Peculiarly to *Himself*, committing That of our *Bodies* to the Care of the *Magistrate*.

Now

Now if *Power* be a *Divine Ordinance*, so consequently is *Subjection*; for to Imagine the *One*, without the *Other*, were to destroy the *Reason* of *Relatives*. A Strict, and Accurate Disquisition of This Matter, would save us much Trouble that arises about the *Bounds*, and *Limits* of our *Duty*; How far *Religion* binds us, and how far *Allegeance*. That they are *severable*, we are not to doubt, since *Truth it self* has said it. *Give unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsar's; *and unto* God, *the things that are* God's. But that they are only *so* severable, as never to become *Inconsistent*, is founded upon the same Immovable Rock; *Let every Soul be subject, &c.* A Precept, of a *Perpetual*, and *Universal Operation*, and Limited neither to *Time*, *Place*, nor *Persons*.

N. C. **Your Deduction of** *Government*, **and** *Subjection*, **from** *Divine Institution*, **is well enough: and that we are to Obey the** *Magistrate* **for** *God's* **sake, and in** *Subordination* **to** *God*, **is easily** *Prov'd*, **and** *Granted*: **But I hear nothing yet of the Particular** *Bounds*, **and** *Terms* **of** *Humane Jurisdiction*; *What* **'tis belongs to** *God*, **and what to** *Cæsar*.

C. And That, I confess, is the Pinch of the Question: For *One Duty* comes up so

ſo cloſe to the *Other*, that 'tis not for every Common Eye to paſs between them. Effectually, they *Touch*; but in what Point, is of a *Nice Deciſion*. The neareſt way to the Knowledge of our *Duty*, is to apply it to the *Laws*, and *Powers* of the *Authority*: for a Man muſt firſt *Know* the Rule, before he can *Obſerve* it. We are then to conſider, that the Almighty Wiſdom has inveſted *Kings* with an *Unlimited Power* of *Commanding*, or *Forbidding*, in all Matters, which *God Himſelf* has not either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*: Which Propoſition reſolves it ſelf into This Concluſion. *Whatſoever God has left* Indifferent, *is the Subject of* Humane Power.

N. C. **Does not that Opinion deſtroy** *Chriſtian Liberty?*

C. No: But the Denial of it deſtroys *Magiſtracy*. If *Kings* have not *This Power*, they have *None at all*: And it Implies a Contradiction, to ſuppoſe any Authority in Nature without it.

N. C. **But may not a Prince** *tye himſelf up*, **in a thing otherwiſe** *Indifferent?*

C. I ſpeak of *Power* according to the *Inſtitution*, not of Power limited by *Paction*.

N.C. **May**

N. C. **May not the same thing be Indifferent to *One*, and not to *Another*?**

C. Very Good: And will not every thing Imaginable appear *Non-Indifferent* to some or other; if nothing may be *Commanded*, but what upon such a Phansie may be *Disobey'd*?

N. C. **Pardon me; I do not speak of Matters of *Civil Concern*, but of Matters of *Religion*.**

C. That's all a Case; for you cannot Instance in any One *Civil* Action, that may not be made Relative to *Religion*. But we are now upon *the Extent of Humane Power*. That there *is* such a *Power*, and *That*, *Authoriz'd* too by *God Himself*, you have already Granted. Let me but understand now, *Upon what Subject shall that Power be* Exercis'd; If you exclude Things *Indifferent*? *One Man* may have a *Real Scruple*, and All the *Rest*, *pretend* one. Who shall distinguish? So that the Rule holding from *One* to *All*, the Sacred Authority of the *Prince* becomes dependent upon the Pleasure of the *Subject*; and the *Validity* of a *Divine*, and *Unchangeable Ordinance*, is subjected to the *mutable Judgment*, and *Construction* of the *People*.

N. C. **And you expect, the *Magistrate* should**

ſhould as well have the Authority of *Judging* what's Indifferent, as of *Reſtreining* it.

C. You may be ſure I do; for I am but where I was, If I make *You* the Judge. Is it not *all one*, as to the *Magiſtrate*, whether you Refuſe, upon Pretenſe that the Thing is *not Indifferent*, or upon Pretenſe, that He cannot *Reſtrein* a thing Indifferent? The *Crime* indeed is differing in the *Subject*: for the *One way*, 'tis an *USURPATION* of *Authority*; and the *Other way*, 'tis a *DENIAL* of it.

N. C. Why then it ſeems, I am to believe every thing *Indifferent*, which the Magiſtrate tells me *is* ſo, be it never ſo *Wicked*.

C. No; There you are bound up, by a *Superiour Law*.

N. C. Have you ſo ſoon forgot your ſelf? You would not *allow* me to be a Judge, juſt now; and here, you *make* me one.

C. Right. To your *ſelf*, you *are* one, but not to the *Publique*; you are a Judge of *your own Thought*, but not of the *Law*.

N. C. And does not *This way* of Arguing as much endanger *Authority*, as the *Other*? For *All* may Judge *Thus*, as well as *One*.

C. 'Tis

C. 'Tis possible they *may*. Nay we'l suppose 'an Imposition foul enough to move them all to do so; and yet there's a large difference: For *Diversity* of *Judgment* does not shake the *Foundation* of *Authority*; and a Man may *disobey* a *Sinful Command*, with great Reverence to the *Power* that *Imposes* it.

N. C. You were saying e'en now, that my Duty to *God*, and to the *King*, could never be *Inconsistent*. How shall I behave my self, I pray'e, if the *King* command *one* thing, and *God another*? I cannot obleige the *Law*, without violence to my *Conscience*, nor discharge my *Conscience*, without *Offence* to the *Law*. What Course shall I take, to avoid *Interfering*?

C. Demean your self as a *Christian*, toward the *LAW* of *God*, one the *One* hand, and as a *Subject*, toward the *ORDINANCE* of *God*, on the *Other*: As considering, that you are discharg'd of your *Obedience* in *That Particular*, but not of your *Subjection* in the *General*.

N. C. Put Case the Supreme Magistrate, should by a *Law*, Establish a *False Worship*.

C. He's nevertheless your *Prince*, and even in This *Complication*, you may acquit

quit your self both to *God*, and to *Cæsar*. Though the *Worship* be *amiss*, The *Magistrate* is yet to be *Reverenc'd*; and you are to divide the *One* from the *Other*; in such manner, as still both to *Fear God*, and *Honour the King*. This *Loyal*, and *Religious Separation* of our *Duties*, will set us right in the *Main Controversie*. Where do ye find that *Kings Reign*, upon *Condition* of Ruling *Righteously*? Or that we owe them *Less*, *AFTER Misgovernment*, then we did *Before*?

N. C. **But do you say, we are bound to Honour an** *Idolatrous Prince*? **This is not according to the Doctrine of many of our Grave Divines.**

C. They are never the *Better Divines* for *That Doctrine*. The *Prince*, I tell ye, you are bound to *Honour*, though not as an *Idolater*. Shall the *Vice*, or *Errour* of the *Person*, degrade the *Order*? By *That Rule*, The *World* must continue without a *Government*, till we can find *Men without Failings*.

N. C. **So that, when it makes for your Turn, you can Allow (I see) of Distinguishing betwixt the** *PERSON*, **and the** *OFFICE*.

C. Betwixt the *Frailty* of the *One*, and the *Sacredness* of the *Other*, I do: for *Kings*

Kings Command, as *Gods*, though they *Judge*, as *Men*. But I do no more approve of Dividing the *Person* of a Prince, from his *Authority*, then of Dividing his *Soul* from his *Body*.

N. C. **And I beseech you, What is *That*, which you call *AUTHORITY*?**

C. It is the Will, *and* Power *of a* Multitude, *deliver'd up by* Common Consent, *to some* One Person, *or* More, *for the* Good, *and* Safety *of the* Whole: And This *Representative* Acts for *All*. Now on the other side, *The Disposition of such, or such a Number of Persons, into an Order of* Commanding, *and* Obeying; *is That which we call a* Society.

N. C. **What is the *Duty* of the *Supreme Magistrate*?**

C. To procure the *Welfare* of the *People*; Or, according to the Apostle, *He is the Minister of God, for a* Comfort *to those that do* Well, *and for a* Terrour *to* Evil doers.

N. C. **How far are his *Laws Binding* upon his *Subjects*?**

C. So far, as *They* that *Parted* with their *Power*, had a *Right* over *Themselves*.

N. C. **Whence was the *Original* of Power?**

Power? And what *Form* of *Government* was *First*; *Regal*, or *Popular*?

C. Power was *Ordain'd* of *God*, but *Specify'd* by *Man*: And beyond doubt, the *First Form* of Government was *Monarchique*.

N. C. But I should rather think the *Popular Form* was *First*: For *how could there be a* King, *without a* People?

C: So was the *Son* before the *Father*, you may say, for *How could there be a* Father *without a* Son? But the Question is; *First*: Was the World ever *without* a Government, since the *Creation* of *Man*? *Secondly*; Whether was there *first* in the World, *One* Man, or *More*? But we are not here upon the *Form* of *Government*, but upon the *Latitude* of *Humane Jurisdiction*; be the *Sovereignty* where it *will*. And my Assertion is, that *It extends to whatsoever God has left* Indifferent. *If you deny This, you overthrow all Government.*

N. C. And what are you the better, If I should *grant* it; unless we could All come to an *Agreement*, about what is *Indifferent*, and what *not*?

C. Which must be procured by the Allowance of some *Judicial Authority* to decide it.

SECT. XXII.

No End of Controversie, *without a* FINAL *and* UNACCOMPTABLE JUDGE, *from whose* Sentence *there shall be no* Appeal.

C. WHen *Subjects* come once to Dispute *Laws*, The *War* is already *Declar'd* against the *Government*. For it is not the *Equity* or *Iniquity* of the *MATTER* of the *Law*, that is the *Question*; but the *AUTHORITY* of the *LAW-MAKER*; under the countenance indeed of somewhat that might be *mended* in the *Law it self*. And the Business comes Immediately to *This Issue*; Whether the *King*, or the *People*, shall *Determine*, in what concerns the Good of the *Community*? That is to say; Whether the *Government* shall *Stand*, or *Fall*? Whether or no we shall submit our selves *quietly* to be *over-ruled* in all *Controversies*, by a *Definitive Sentence* of *Law*; (according to the *End*, and *Intention* of *Government*, in its first *Institution*) Or otherwise, by receding from that *Common*,

mon, Peaceable, and *Impartial Arbitrator* of all our *Differences*; from our *Faith given*; our *Oaths*, and *Contracts*: throw our selves back again into a State of *Nature*, and *Dissolution*; and for want of a *Moderator*, leave all our *Disagreements* to be *decided* by the *Sword*? (The certain Event of all *Popular Appeals*, from *Laws*, to *Multitudes*)

This was the Ruine of us, in our Late Confusions. The *Faction*, you saw, could do nothing, upon the Suggestions of *Right*, or *Wrong*; *Convenience*, or *Inconvenience*; till they came to make *Themselves* the *Judges* of it: And no sooner were they Possest of *That Pretension*, but all went presently head-long to Destruction. From Questioning the *Legal Power* of the *King*, they proceeded to the Exercise of an *Arbitrary Power*, *Themselves*: From *Asserting* the *Subjects Liberties*, to the *Invading* of them: And from the *Reformation* of *Abuses*, to the *Extirpation* of the *Government*. *The Two Houses led the Dance*, and *outed* the *King*; The *Commons* did as much for the *Lords*; and the *People*, as much for the *Commons*: Which comes to no more, then what was reasonably to be expected, upon turning the Course of Publick Affairs into a wrong

Channel; and subjecting the *Indisputable Rights* of *Sovereign Authority*, to the *Censures*, and *Expostulations* of the *Rabble*.

N. C. What are those *Indisputable Rights*, I beseech ye?

C. I reckon (among others) The *Power* of *Making* Laws; and likewise of *Enforcing* the *Execution* of them; without admitting any sort of *Demur*, or *Contradiction*: for let the *People* break in once upon any *One Law*, and they will hardly quit their hold, till they have worm'd out, or *unsettled* all the *Rest*. In short; I do esteem it a matter of Absolute *Necessity*, to the *Peace*, and the very *Being* of all *Government*, to have some *Unaccomptable Judge*; some *Unquestionable Expedient* of *Law*, or *Authority*, for the Ending of *Controversies*: The *Determination* to be *Final*, and *Decisive*: No Appealing *from* it, and no contending *beyond* it.

N. C. What not in Case of *Errour*? I could be well enough content with a *Judge*; and with *Indisputable Laws*, if you could but assure me of *Infallible Law-Makers*. But I should be sorry to see a *Roman-Infallibility* set up in *England*.

C. So that rather then a *Fallible Judge*, you

you will have *None at all*. You could be content with a *Judge*, you say; but then *That Judge* must be *Questionable*, in Case of *Errour*; so that *Another Judge* is to Judge *Him*; and the very *Judge* of *This Judge*, is *Himself Questionable*; and so is *his Judge*, and his *Judges Judge*; (*in Infinitum*) in Case of *Errour*: Which Case of *Errour* may be Alledg'd, wheresoever there is no *Infallibility*; and if there be no *Infallibility* in Nature, then by your Rule, there can be no *Judge* in Nature.

N. C. I do not say but a Man may Judge *Certainly* in *some* Cases, though not *Infallibly* in *All*: and all I ask, is only a Free Exercise of my *Judgment at Discretion*, without being ty'd up to an *Implicit Resignation*. There is but a *Right*, and a *Wrong*; and the *One* I must *Embrace*, and *Reject* the *Other*. How shall I know *This* from *That*, without *Enquiry*? And what am I the better for That *Enquiry*, if when I have *Learn'd* my Duty, I am debarr'd the Liberty to *Practise* it?

C. You turn the Question, from the *Necessity* of a Judg, to his *Infallibility*. 'Tis all one to me, whether you make him *Infallible*, or *Credible*, or what you make him, or where you place him; provided

that he be Acknowledg'd *Necessary*, and *Unaccomptable*. That He is *Necessary*, I presume you will easily afford me: for there can be no *Peace* without him, every Man being at Liberty to *Wrangle*, where no Man is Authoris'd to take up the *Strife*. But would you have him *Unaccomptable*, or no?

N.C. **What greater Encouragement is there in the World, to** *Tyranny*, **then the Opinion of an** *Unaccomptable Sovereignty?*

C. What is it rather (you should have said) that *Excites Sedition*, and *Depopulates Kingdoms*, so much as the *Contrary?* And doubtless, the *Fiercest Tyranny* is much more supportable, then the *Mildest Rebellion*.

N. C. **Truly, as to the Convenience of a** *Definitive Sentence*. **I should be glad to see it; without the Hazzard of a** *Definitive Injustice*.

C. You mistake your self, if you oppose a *Possible Injury* on the *One* side, to a *Certain Wrangle*, and *Confusion* on the *Other*. If *Infallibility* you cannot find, why may not the fairest *Probability* content you?

N. C. **But would you have that** *Probability* **govern by** *Unquestionable*, **and** *Authoritative Conclusions?* *C.* By

C. By any means; you do nothing else: For where *Controversies* are *Inevitable*, and *Concord* (if it may be had) *Necessary*; What can be more Reasonable, then to chuse the most *Competent Judge* of the *Matter* in Controversie, for the Concluding *Umpire* of the *Controversie it self*?

N.C. But a Man may Judge *Probably* in *One* Case, and *Improbably* in *Another*: Suppose the *Determination* to be manifest *Errour*, or *Injustice*; would you have the same Submission paid to it, as if it were *Equity*, and *Truth*?

C. Yes: To the *Determination*, though not to the *Errour*: You are to stand to the *Authority* of the Sentence, without Contesting the *Equity* of it: for *Right*, or *Wrong*, 'tis a *Decision*. The Principal *Scope*, and sure *End* of a *Reference*, is *Peace*: The Hopeful *Event*, and *Issue* of it, is *Righteous Judgment*. Is it not well then, to be *sure* of the *One*, and in so fair a *Likelihood* of the *Other*? Put it to the worst; You are not bound to be of the *Judge* his *Opinion*, but to be overrul'd by his *Authority*: Neither do you undertake that he shall Judge *Critically*, as to the *Subject* of the *Question*; but that he shall Judge Effectually, as to the purpose of the *Reference*.

N. C. This *Resignation* may do well, in Cases of *Civil Interest*: but it will hardly hold in Matters of *Conscience*. Who shall pretend to Judge of *my Conscience*, beside *God*, and *my Self*?

C. The *Scripture*, which is the *Rule* of *all Consciences*, shall be the *Judge* of *Yours*. But the Question is not, What the Conscience *Is*, but what it *Ought* to be: Not what your *Private Judgment* says, but what the *Scripture means*; and the Thing I strive for, is a Judge of *That*: A *Judge* of the *Rule* of *Faith*; which I take to be all out as necessary, as a *Judge* of a *Political Law*.

You cannot but allow, that there are Diversities of Opinions, as well in *Religion*, as concerning *Secular Affairs*: And such is our *Corruption*, that we draw Poyson, even from the Fountain of Life; and the *Word of God it self*, is made the *Warrant* of all *Crimes*, and the *Foundation* of all *Heresies*.

Look behind ye, and you may see a *Prince Murther'd* by his *Subjects*: *Authority Beheaded* by a Pretended *Law*, and all this Defended by a *Text*. The *Church Devour'd* by a *Divided* Ministry; The *Government overturn'd* by a Solemn *League* and *Covenant* to *support* it: An

Arbitrary

Arbitrary Power Introduc'd by the *Patrons* of *Liberty*: The *Lord's Prayer* Cashier'd, to make way for the Motions of the *Holy Ghost*; and *Charity* it self *Extinguish'd* for the Advancement of the *Gospel*. We have liv'd to see as many *Heresies*, as *Congregations*; and a *Consistorian Scrutiny*, prest beyond the Rigour of a *Spanish Inquisition*. We have seen some that (a) abhor *Idols*, committing *Sacrilege*. *Christ's Kingdom* cry'd up, till his (b) *Divinity* is *Deny'd*. *Strictness* of Life *Inculcated*, till the very *Rule* of it (c) (The *Decalogue* it self) is *Rejected*: And *Blasphemy* hunted out of the *Tavern*, into the *Pulpit*.

(a) Rom. 2. 22.
(b) By the *Familists*.
(c) By the *Antinomians*.

In fine; What *Sin*, and *Misery* have we not *known*, and *felt*, since under the Form of *Liberty of Conscience*, This Freedom of a *Private Spirit* came in *vogue*? Nor are we ever to expect better from it, till all Men shall conspire to do the same thing, where every Man is left to his Own Gust, to do what he pleases. And whence flows all this *Mischief*, and *Confusion*, but from a *License* of *Wandring* from the *Rule*? Methinks These Practises should put you, and your Cause out of Countenance.

N.C. I am no Advocate for *Anarchy*, though

though no Friend to *Uniformity*. And I know 'tis with *Non Conformists*, as with *other People*; there are *Good* and *Bad* of *All sorts*. But to go with the *Moderate*: Would you have *all Mens Consciences* Govern'd by the *same Rule*?

C. Better *Particulars* suffer for Incompliance with the *Publique*, then the *Publique* suffer for Complying with *Particulars*. *Uniformity* is the *Ciment* of both *Christian*, and *Civil Societies*: Take That away, and the *Parts* drop from the *Body*; One Piece falls from Another.

The *Magistrate* (for *Orders* sake) requires *Uniformity*; *You*, and *your Associates* oppose it, upon a Plea of *Conscience*. The Question is; Whether *He* shall Over-rule *your Opinions*, or *You* Over-rule *His Authority*? This Dispute begets a *War*, for want of a *Judge*; and to prevent that Consequence, I offer that a *Judge* is *Necessary*. Or put it Thus: *You*, and *I differ*; and possibly we are *Both* in the *Wrong*; but most certainly we are *not Both* in the *Right*; and yet neither of us but thinks well enough of his own Opinion. What's to be done in This Case? Shall we Wrangle Eternally?

N. C. No, We'l rather put the Matter to *Arbitration*.

C. Well

C. Well; but the *Arbiter himſelf* is *Fallible*; and may miſtake too: Or let him have the Wiſdom of an Angel, he cannot pleaſe us *Both*: For That which ſeems *Right* to the *One*, will appear *Wrong* to the *Other*. Shall we ſtand to his *Award* whatever it be? If not, take into your Thought theſe Conſequences. *You* refuſe to ſubmit, becauſe it is *Wrong*; and *I* may refuſe, by the ſame Reaſon, though it be *Right*: (For, *Every Man's Reaſon is of equal Force, where there is no Common, and Repreſentative Reaſon to Bind All.*) So that by your Reckoning, Every Man is in the *Right* to *Himſelf*, and in the *Wrong* to *all the World beſides*: (for I perſwade my ſelf, that Nature never produc'd Two Perſons, in all Points, of the ſame Judgment.)

Now, if you can neither deny *Confuſion* to be the *Natural Effect* of this *Liberty of Judgment*; nor the want of a *Regulating*, and *Decretory Sentence*, to be the *Cauſe* of This *Confuſion*, I hope you'l grant me the *Neceſſity* of an *Unaccomptable Judge.*

N. C. **Is not the Word of God a ſufficient Judge?**

C. No: That's no *Judge*, but [*a Rule for Chriſtians to Judge BY*] and the great Danger

Chillingworths Safe Way. p. 57

Danger lies upon the *Meaning* of That *Rule*. Witness those Swarms of *Heresies*, that have over-spread this Land, since the Bible has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of *Private Spirits*.

N. C. **You say well, if you could direct me to a Judge that we might all rely upon.**

C. And you say something too, if you could make appear, that *None at all* is *better* then *the Best we have*: Or that *Popular Errours*, *Numberless*, and *Inevitable*, (with the *Dissolution* of *Societies* to boot) are to be preferr'd to the *Few*, and only *Possible Failings* of *Authority*, attended however with *Peace*, and *Agreement*. The Question, Briefly, is This. Whether will you rather have; *One Fallible Judge*, or *a Million of Damnable Heresies?*

N. C. **Truly, as you have reduc'd it, to a Certainty of** *Peace* **the** *One* **way, and to as great a Certainty of** *Discord*, **the** *Other*; **to a** *Certainty* **of** *Many Errours*, *without* **a Judg, and to a bare** *Possibility* **of some** *few*, *with* **One: I think a** *Final Judge* **may be** *Convenient*, **if not** *Necessary*.

C. If you find it so in the *Church*, sure you will not Dispute it in the *State*; especially

especially against an Experience too, the most forcible of all Reasons. We were never troubled with *Constructive Necessities*; with Cavils about the *Receptacle* of *Power*, and the *Limits* of *Obedience*: With Distinctions betwixt the *Political* and the *Natural Right* of the *People*; The *Legal*, and the *Personal Will* of the *Prince*; and betwixt the *Equity*, and the *Letter* of the *Law*: till Judgment was forc'd from its proper Course, and the *Decision* of *Political Controversies*, committed to the Frivolous, and Tumultuary Arbitrations of the *People*.

N. C. May, I am as much for a *Judge*, as You; but not for *One Judge* to *All Purposes*: Nor indeed, for *any Judge* so *Absolute* as you would have him.

C. I tell ye again, A *Judge*, and no *Absolute Judge*, is *No* Judge: and you shall as soon find the End of a *Circle*, as of a *Controversie*, by *such a Judge*. Nor is it yet my Intention, that *One Judge* should serve for *All Purposes*.

N. C. Divide your Matter then, and assign to every *Judicable Point* its *Proper Judge*.

C. You have Reason; for truly I do not take the *Magistrate* to be any more

a

Danger lies upon the *Meaning* of That *Rule*. Witness those Swarms of *Heresies*, that have over-spread this Land, since the Bible has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of *Private Spirits*.

N. C. **You say well, if you could direct me to a Judge that we might all rely upon.**

C. And you say something too, if you could make appear, that *None at all* is *better* then *the Best we have*: Or that *Popular Errours*, *Numberless*, and *Inevitable*, (with the *Dissolution* of *Societies* to boot) are to be preferr'd to the *Few*, and only *Possible Failings* of *Authority*, attended however with *Peace*, and *Agreement*. The Question, Briefly, is This, Whether will you rather have; *One Fallible Judge*, or *a Million of Damnable Heresies*?

N. C. **Truly, as you have reduc'd it, to a Certainty of** *Peace* **the** *One* **way, and to as great a Certainty of** *Discord*, **the** *Other*; **to a** *Certainty* **of** *Many Errours*, *without* **a Judg, and to a bare** *Possibility* **of some** *few*, *with* **One: I think a** *Final Judge* **may be** *Convenient*, **if not** *Necessary*.

C. If you find it so in the *Church*, sure you will not Dispute it in the *State*; especially

especially against an Experience too, the most forcible of all Reasons. We were never troubled with *Constructive Necessities*; with Cavils about the *Receptacle* of *Power*; and the *Limits* of *Obedience*: With Distinctions betwixt the *Political*, and the *Natural Right* of the *People*; The *Legal*, and the *Personal Will* of the *Prince*; and betwixt the *Equity*, and the *Letter* of the *Law*: till Judgment was forc'd from its proper Course, and the *Decision* of *Political Controversies*, committed to the Frivolous, and Tumultuary Arbitrations of the *People*.

N. C. May, I am as much for a *Judge*, as You; but not for *One Judge* to *All Purposes*: Nor indeed, for *any Judge* to *Absolute* as you would have him.

C. I tell ye again, A *Judge*, and no *Absolute Judge*, is *No* Judge: and you shall as soon find the End of a *Circle*, as of a *Controversie*, by *such a Judge*. Nor is it yet my Intention, that *One Judge* should serve for *All Purposes*.

N. C. Divide your Matter then, and assign to every *Judicable Point* its *Proper Judge*.

C. You have Reason; for truly I do not take the *Magistrate* to be any more

a *Judge* of *My* Conscience, then *I* am of *His*.

N. C. **No doubt of it; And it were an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of God Himself, for the Magistrate to Challenge it.**

C. How comes it now, that we, that *accord* so well in the *End*, should *differ* so much in the *Way* to't? But I hope the Clearing of the next Point will set all Right: for after the Acknowledgment of the *General Necessity* of a *Judge*, we have nothing further to do, but to agree upon the *Judge*, and so *submit*.

SECT. XXIII.

The Three Great Judges *of* Mankind, *are* GOD, MAGISTRATES, *and* CONSCIENCE.

Some Things we do as *Men*; *Other* Things, as *Men* in *Society*; and *Some* again, as *Christians*. In the *first* place, We are acted by the Law of *Individuals*; Which Law, in the *Second* place, is Subjected to That of *Government*; And Both these Laws are, in the *Third* place, Sub

Subordinate to That of *Religion*; i.e. *The Law of God's Revealed Will.* So that *the Three Great Judges of Mankind are*, GOD, MAGISTRATES, *and* CONSCIENCE.

Man as Conſiſting of *Soul*, and *Body*, may be again *Subdivided* within *Himſelf*. Take Him in his *Lower Capacity*, and He is ſway'd by the *General Law* of *Animal Nature*, But in his *Divine* part, you will find Him Govern'd by the Nobler Law of *Refined Reaſon*; which *Reaſon*, in *ſome* Caſes, we call *Prudence*, and in *others*, *Conſcience*, according as it is Variouſly Exerciſed.

The Things which we do purely as *MEN*, (Abſtracted from any Ingredients of *Policy*, or *Regulated Religion*) are either *Natural Actions*, *Prudential*, or *Moral*. Of the *firſt* ſort, are Thoſe Actions to which we are prompted by a *Natural Impulſe*, in order to the Conſervation of *Life*, and *Being*. Of the *third* ſort, are ſuch Actions as we perform in Obedience to *Moral Principles*. (Which are no other, then the *Divine Will*, as it is couched under the Dictate of *Humane Reaſon*) And *Betwixt* Theſe *Two*, lies the Region of *Middle Actions*: That is, of ſuch Actions, as although not of *ſimple*, and

and *strict Necessity*, either to *Life*, or *Virtue*, are notwithstanding *Useful*, and *Commodious*, for the *Guidance*, and *Comfort* of the *One*, and for the *Practice* of the *Other*. The accurate Disquisition of This Interest clears the Main Difficulty of the Question; for Nothing has embroyl'd us more, then the *Mistaken Rights*, and *Privileges* of *Individuals*: Which Mistakes being once made manifest, by laying open the *Subordination* of several *Claims*, and *Powers*, every Man may take a distinct View of his own Province.

N. C. If you will proceed Regularly, you are to *State* these *Subordinations* as you go.

C. Agreed; and we are now upon the *Right* of *Individuals*: In which naked Simplicity of Considering *Man*, without any Regard to the Ordinary Motions of *Providence*, in the *Order*, and *Regiment* of the *World*, We shall yet find a *Natural Subordination* within *Himself*, and the Law of *Sense*, under the Dominion of the Law of *Reason*, in the *same Subject*. These are the *Laws* which
Rom. 7. 23. the Apostle calls the *Law of his MEMBERS*, and *the Law of his WILL*. The *Former Law* (and the less Excellent) is the Law *Sensitive*; which is no other, then

then the Law of *Self-Preſervation*. (The *Supreme* Law of *Animal* Beings, as it is of *Rationals* the *Loweſt*) This Law *Senſitive*, is no other than the Manifeſtation of *God* in the *Creature*: for what *Senſe* does, *Nature* does; and what *Nature* does, *God* does.

N. C. **But what is That** *Power* **all this while, which you call** *NATURE*?

C. It is the Ordinary Working of God in all his Creatures; by Virtue of which Divine Impreſſion, and Influence, Every thing is moved to ſeek the Utmoſt Perfection whereof it is Capable. As for the Purpoſe; The *Perfection* of *MAN* is the *Congruity* of his *Actions* with his *Reaſon*; which is Nothing elſe, but That which we call *VIRTUE*. The *Perfection* of *BEASTS* lies a degree lower: For they are only mov'd by a *Senſual Impulſe*, towards what is *Convenient* for them; and when they *have* it, They *Reſt*.

N. C. **When People are gravell'd, they fly to their** *Impulſes*, **and** *Occult Qualities*. **Where lies the Difference, I beſeech you, between** *Their Impulſe*, **and** *Our Choice*?

C. Their Impulſe carries them on through a *Senſitive Search*, not any *Deliberative Diſcourſe*; And there is no *Re-*

tion neither at *last*: But only the *Simple Prosecution* of a *Determinate Appetite*, without imagining any *Proportion* betwixt the *Means*, and the *End*.

N. C. **But still we find, that there *is* a *Proportion*: and the Motion appears to us according to the Method of *Reason*: And a very Orderly Proceeding from a *Question*, to a *Resolution*.**

C. Is it *Reason*, think ye, that makes a *Dog* follow his *Nose*, and Hunt for *Meat*, when he is *Hungry*? Or will you call it *Choice*, if he leaves a *Turfe* for a *Bone*? Now if you ask how This comes about: He is guided by *Instinct* toward the *End*; and *Sense* carries him thorough the *Means*.

N. C. **But why should the *same Process* of *Means*, and the *same Application* of *Causes*, be ascribed only to *Instinct*, in *Brutes*, and to *Reason*, in *Man*?**

C. You are to take notice, that all *Natural Operations* are *Regular*, and *Ordinate*, by what Means soever performed: But it does not follow, because the *Method* is according to *Reason*, that therefore the *Instrument* must be *Reasonable*. But to mind what we are upon.

The Law of *Self-Preservation*, is a *Law* common to *Beasts* with *Men*; but not

not of *Equal Force*, and *Obligation*: for *Their Sovereign Intereſt* is *Life*; *Ours* is *Virtue*: And therefore your late Argument for *Defenſive Arms*, under Pretenſe of that Extremity, was but a *Brutiſh Plea*: For if the Conſideration of *Virtue* be not above That of *Life*, Where lies the *Advantage* of Our *Reaſon*?

N. C. **But when the** *Death* **is** *certain*, **and the** *Virtue doubtful*, **Who ſhall determine the Point?**

C. In a Caſe abſtracted from the *Ties*, and *Duties* of *Religion*, and *Government*, *every Man's Reaſon* ſits as *Judge upon his own Life*. As for Inſtance; You are in the Hands of Thieves, and only This Choice offer'd you, either *to take a Falſe Oath*, or *to loſe your Life*. Your *Conſcience* tells you, that you muſt rather *Periſh*, then *Forſwear* your ſelf: But if you can preſerve *your ſelf*, without Violence to a *Superiour Duty*, you are your own *Murderer* if you *do not*. Thus far I think we are ſafe, and I ſuppoſe agreed, that *every Individual is to Govern himſelf by his Natural Conſcience*. But when the *ſeveral Particulars* come to be bundled up in *One Community*, the Caſe is *otherwiſe*.

N. C. **I am ſorry to hear you ſay That. Why ſhould not every Man**

be Govern'd by his own Conscience, as well in *Consort*, as in *Solitude*, as well in *Company*, as by *Himself*? Or will you have it, that our *Duty* to *God* ceases in the Act of becoming *Subjects* to a *Civil Power*?

C. As to your *Conscience*, you are as free *now*, as you were *before*: But your *Body* is no longer your *Own*, after you are once enrolled a Member of a *Society*. And here's the Difference; You were your *own* Servant *before*, and *now* you are the *King's*. (For what is *Government*, but the *Wisdom*, *Resolve*, and *Force* of *every Particular*, gather'd into *One Understanding*, *Will*, and *Body*?) And This comes up to what I have already Deliverd, that, *Whatsoever God has left* INDIFFERENT, *is the Subject of* HUMANE POWER.

N. C. But who shall be *Judge* of what's *Indifferent*?

C. Let That be Examined the very next Thing we do.

You are already satisfied, that an *Authorized Judge* is absolutely *Necessary*, in Order to the *Peace* of *Church*, and *State*, and to the Ending of all Publique Differences: But we are not yet resolv'd about Our

Our *Judges*; Or if we were, yet in Regard they are but *Men*, and so may *Erre*, [*Infallibility being departed with Christ and his Apostles; in lieu of which Living, and Infallible Guides, God has in Providence given us a Plain, and Infallible Rule*] We are now to make Enquiry, how far a *Private* Judge may be allow'd to Oppose, or Differ from a *Publique*, in Case of a *Reluctant Conscience*, and in some sort to *Judge* his *Judge*?

Chillingworth's Safe way, &c. p. 104.

N. C. You say very well; For place the *Ultimate Decision* where you will, It is (as you said before) an *Infallible Determination* as to the *Strife*; but *Not so*, as to the Truth; and comes at last to This, that *every Man* (in some Degree) *re-judges his Judge*. If I be fully conbinc't, either, that the *Command* is *Sinful* in it *self*, or the *Opinion Wicked*; I am neither to *Obey* the *One*, nor to *Embrace* the *Other*; as being tied up by a General Obligation of rather *Obeying*, and *Believing God*, then *Man*. May more; If in Obedience to the *Magistrate*, I commit a Sin against *God*, and do it *ignorantly* too, That very Act in *Ignorance* is *Criminal*: (If I had the Means of being better inform'd:) *For No Humane Respect can*

justifie an Offence against God. Now if I am *bound* to do Nothing that is *Ill*; I am likewise *bound*, before I do any thing, *to satisfie my self*, whether it be *Ill*, or *No*: For otherwise, I may follow a *False Religion* for a *True*, and be Damned in the End, for not minding what I did. This do I take for Proof sufficient, that No Man is so Implicitely Obliged to rely upon *other Mens Eyes*, as totally to Abandon the Direction of *his own*; Or so unconditionally to Swear Obedience to *other Mens Laws*, and *Perswasions*, as to hold no Intelligence at all with that *Sacred Law*, and *Faithful Counsellor* which he carries in *his own Bosom*.

C. I am so far from advising you to *renounce your Reason*, that, on the contrary, I would have you absolutely *guided*, and *concluded* by it; and only to *Obey* for *Quiet* sake, so far as you can possibly *Obey* in *Conscience*.

N. C. What if a *Single Person* hit that Truth, which a *General Council* misses? Which will you have him follow; *Truth*, or *Authority*?

C. I would have him follow *Truth* with his *Soul*, and *Authority* with his *Body*. But it is not for so remote a Possibility as

as This is, to bring the *Fancies* and *Imaginations* of a *Private Spirit* into a Competition with *Reſolutions* of *Law*, And yet for the *Poſſibility* ſake, We'l take the very *Suppoſition* likewiſe into Conſideration, and Word the whole Matter as plainly as we can.

The *Church* ſays, Ye *may* Do; And the *Law* ſays, You *muſt* Do, That which your *Conſcience* ſays, You ought *not* to Do. How will you reconcile your *Duty*, and your *Conſcience*, in This Caſe?

N. C. **Very well; For I think it my** *Duty* **to Obey my** *Conſcience*, **upon This Principle, That** *Conſcience is God's Subſtitute over Individuals.*

C. Keep to That, and Anſwer me once again; *Is not the Civil Magiſtrate God's Subſtitute too?* If He *be*, How comes *your Conſcience* to take place of *his Authority?* They are *Both Commiſſion'd alike*, and conſequently, *Both to be Obey'd alike*: Which is *Impoſſible*, where their *Commands* are *Inconſiſtent.*

N. C. **The** *Magiſtrate* **is a** *Publique Miniſter*, **and** *his Commiſſion* **does not reach to** *Particular Conſciences.*

C. And on the Other ſide, *You* are a *Private Perſon*, and there is as little Reaſon for *your Opinion* to Operate upon a

Publique Law. So that if I mistake you not, we are upon accord thus far; That *every Particular* is to look to *One*, and the *King* to the *Whole*.

Now if you would deal as Candidly with me, about the *Ecclesiastical Power*, as you have done in the *Civil*, we might make short work of This Question. I hope you will not deny that the *Church* is as well (*a*) *Authorized to* TEACH, *and* INSTRUCT *in all the External Acts of Worship, as* (*b*) *the Magistrate is to* COMPEL *to Those External Acts.*

(*a*) Rutherford's Due Right of Presbyt. P.356.

(*b*) Ibid. P.352.

N. C. **There is no Doubt,** (*c*) *The Church* (**as the Church**) *has a Ministerial Power* (*Ex Officio*) *to Define Controversies, according to the Word of God*; **And that** (*d*) *A Synod Lawfully Convened, is a Limited, Ministerial, and Bounded Visible Judge, and to be believed in, so far as they follow Christ, the Peremptory and Supreme Judge, speaking in his own Word.*

(*c*) Ibid. P.407.

(*d*) Ibid. P.415.

C. This will not do our Business yet; for to say, that *a Synod is to be believed in,* SO FAR *as it follows Christ*, seems to make Those the *Judges* of That Act, that are to be *Concluded* by it; and leaves the *Credit* of the *Authority*, dependent upon the *Conscience, Fancy*, or *Humour* of the *Believer*.

Believer. For 'tis but any Man's ſaying, that *the Synod does not follow Chriſt*, and that *he truſts in it ſo far as it does follow Him.* And this is enough to keep the Controverſie afoot, without any hope of Deciſion.

N. C. We are indeed to believe Truths determined by **Synods**, *to be* **Infallible**, *and never again liable to Retraction, or Diſcuſſion; Not becauſe* [**ſo ſays the Synod,**] *but becauſe* [**ſo ſays the Lord.**] *Rutherf.* Free Diſp. p. 36.

C. Still you are ſhort; for 'tis not in Our *Power* to *diſbelieve* what we *acknowledge* to be a *Truth*: But That which is *Truth* at the *Fountain*, may be *Corrupted* in the *Paſſage*; Or at leaſt appear ſo to *Me*, and *What then?*

N. C. **It muſt be look't upon as an** *Errour* **of the** *Conſcience*; **which is** *no* *Diſcharge* **at all of your** *Obedience*: **From which** *Errour* **you are to be** *reclaimed*, **either by** *Inſtruction*, **or** *Cenſure.* **For** *the People are obliged to Obey Thoſe that are* OVER THEM IN THE LORD, *who Watch for their Souls, as thoſe who muſt give an Accompt;] And not oblig'd to ſtand to, and obey the Miniſterial and Official Judgment of* THE PEOPLE. *He that Heareth* YOU (MINISTERS *of the* GO- Ibid. p. 17.

GOSPEL, *not the* PEOPLE) *Heareth* ME; *And He that Despiseth* YOU, *Despiseth* ME.

C. Why should not We Two shake Hands now, and Join in the Act for *Uniformity*? You cannot say, that it wants any thing of the full Complement of a *Binding Law*; Either in regard of the *Civil*, or of the *Ecclesiastical Authority*. Here is *first*, the *Judgment* of the *Church duely conven'd*, touching the *Meetness*, and *Conveniency* of the *Rites*, and *Forms* therein Conteined. You have *next*, the *Royal Sanction*, *Approving*, and *Authorizing* Those *Rites*, and *Forms*; and *Requiring* your Exact *Obedience* to them. Now so it is, that you can neither Decline the *Authority* of your *Judges*, nor the *Acknowledgment* of your *Duties*; What is it then that hinders your *Obedience*?

N. C. **That which to Me is more then all the World, It goes against my Conscience.**

C. Only That Point then, and we have done with This Subject.

We have already concluded, that *God* is the *Judge* of the *World*; That the *Church* is the *Judge* of what properly concerns

concerns *Religion*; That the *Civil Magistrate* is *Judge* of what belongs to *Publique Order*, and *Peace*; and That *every Man's Conscience* is the *Judge* of what concerns his *own Soul*. The Remaining Difficulty is This; *How I am to behave my self in a Case, where the* Law *bids me do* One *Thing, and my Conscience, Another*.

To take a True Estimate of This Matter, We are first to Ballance the Two Interests, that meet in Competition; The *One, for* the Law, and the *Other, against* it.

There is, in *Favour*, and *for* the *EXECUTION* of the *Law* (meaning That of *Uniformity*) 1. The *Personal Conscience*, and 2. The *Political Conscience* of the *King*. There is moreover, for the *EQUITY* of it, the Solemn and Deliberate *Judgment* of the *Church*; which is, effectually, the *Publique Conscience*; and lastly, for the *OBSERVANCE* of it, There is the *Duty* of the *Subject*, which, if it be *withdrawn*, does not only Invalidate This *Particular Act*, but it loosens the Sinews of *Sovereign Authority*; and which is more, it destroys even a *Divine Ordinance*; For take away *Obedience*, and *Government* lapses into *Confusion*.

Now for the *Counterpoise*; *AGAINST This Law*, and *Thus Supported*, appears *your Naked Conscience*. Nay, That's the *Fairest* on't; It may be *worse*, and in Truth, any thing that's *Ill*, under *That Name*.

N. C. **But what's the *World* to *Me*, in the Scale against my *Soul*?**

C. You have great Reason sure, and 'tis no more then every Man may challenge: That is, to *Stand*, or *Fall*, to his own *Conscience*: Is that your Principle?

N. C. **Yes, out of Doubt; 'tis *Mine*, and *Yours*, and *any Man's* that's *Honest*.**

C. Well; Hold ye a little: *Your Conscience* will not down with *This Law*; and *This Law* will as little down with *your Conscience*. Weigh now the *Good* against the *Bad*; What if it *stands*? What if it *yields*? Make the Case worse then it is; as Bad as Bad may be, in your own Favour. *You* cannot *comply* with the *Law*; And the *Law* will not *stoop* to *You*. What follows upon it?

N. C. **The Ruine of many Godly People, that desire to Worship God, according to his Word.**

C. That Plea wrought little upon *You* from *Us*; but let that pass. What *sort* of

of Ruine do you mean? Ruine of *Liberty*, or *Estate*? (For this Law draws no *Blood*) *State* your Misfortunes, I beseech ye.

N.C. No Man must Hold a *Benefice*, or Teach a *School*, but upon Terms of such *Subscription*, or *Acknowledgment*, as many an honest Man would rather *Die* then *Consent* to: So that We are Distrest, not only for Our *Selves*, as being deprived of the Comfort of all Spiritual, and Heavenly Freedoms; But Our poor *Infants* are exposed to be Undone, wanting the Means of a *Religious Education*.

C. If *This* be All, never Trouble your selves; for *many an honest Man has outliv'd more then this comes to.* In short; There's a *huge Clamour*; but (God knows) with *little Reason*. Some Particulars will possibly suffer for *want* of a *Toleration*: and who are They; but the Profest *Opposers* of the *Law*? And on the *Other* side, All the *Friends* of the Government will suffer *by* it.

If you would see the *Event* of *Granting* what you ask, Turn but your Face toward —41, and then *Blush*, and *Repent*. Besides; You're not aware, that in Contesting with the *Law*, you Quarrel

rel with your *self*: *THERE'S YOUR OWN VOTE AGAINST YOU*; and all this Muttering, is no other then your *Factious Will*, wrangling with your *Political Consent*. And yet I say, *Stick to your Conscience*: Let us now put the Case of a Real Distance, betwixt *This Act*, and *your Conscience*. How will you divide your Duty?

N.C. **I'le follow your Advice, and *stick to my Conscience*.**

C. Now change Hands, and make your self the *Supreme Magistrate*. He has a *Double Conscience*; *One* that concerns *Himself*, the *Other*, his *People*.

What his Majesties *Personal Judgment* is, has been *Declared* Abundantly; What his *Prudential Judgment* may dispose Him to, lies in His *Royal Breast*. But be That as Heaven shall Order it. Here's the *Partition* of your Rights: The *King's Prerogative* has nothing to do with *your Conscience*; and *your Conscience* has as little to do with *His Majesties Prerogative*. The King is Accomptable to *God* for the Welfare of his *People*; and You are only Accomptable to *God* for the Good of your little *Particular*. If *You* cannot *Obey* the *Law*, Do not: But abide the *Penalty*. If the *Soveriegn* cannot *Relax* the

Law,

Law, He's as Free to *Execute* it. *Your Conscience* requires *Liberty*, and your *Governour's Conscience* requires *Order*. Now why you should expect, that your *Sovereign* should bring down *His Conscience* to *Yours*, when you find upon Experiment, that you cannot perswade your *Own* to come up to *His*, is to me a Mystery. To Conclude, Keep your self, within your *Sphere*; and where you cannot *Consent*, as a *Christian*, *Submit*, as a *Subject*; that We may at last hope for some Respite from the Calamities of *Sedition*, and *Schism*.

N. C. **And why not** *Scandal*, **and** *Profaneness* **too? For the Edge of your Severity might be directed to much better Purpose That way.**

SECT.

SECT. XXIV.

The Church of England *charges the* Non-Conformists *with* SCHISM, *and the* Non-Conformists *charge those of the* Church *with* SCANDAL. *The Matter is taken into* Debate.

N. C. YOur Position is, That *no Toleration* is to be admitted, to the hazzard of *Religion*, *Good Life*, and *Government*. Keep to *That Standard*, and you will find that the *Conformists* have as little Pretense to a Toleration as their *Neighbours*: and that the Notorious *Scandal* on the *one* side, outweighs the Objected *Schism* on the *other*.

C. This will scarce hold, if you come to be Try'd by your own Laws: which make it a Matter of *Scandal*, *by* Writing, Preaching, *or* otherwise, *to publish a Disaffection to the* Present Government. But Explain your self.

Scobel's Acts, Part 1. p. 340.

N. C. By *Scandal*, I mean *Habitual Prophaneness*, *Sensuality*, *Dissolution of Manners*, *&c.* As by *Schism*, I suppose

poſe you intend *our Incompliances* with *your Church-Diſcipline*. Weigh Theſe Two now, One againſt the Other, and do you your ſelf hold the Balance. Set up *your Tavern-Clubs* againſt *our Conventicles*; Oppoſe *your Combinations* againſt *God Himſelf*, to *our Plots* againſt the *Government*. For you muſt not take it Ill, if I tell ye, that *Atheiſm* is become the *Sport*, and *Salt* of your moſt *Celebrated Entertainments*. And when you have daſh'd the *Bible* out of *Countenance*, with the Story of the *Three Grand Impoſtors*, or ſome ſuch Laſhing Piece of Drollery, The Queſtioning of *God's Over-ruling Wiſdom*, by *Solemn Arguments*, and the Placing of *Fortune* in the Throne of *Providence*, is that which commonly Crowns your Converſations.

C. You ſhould not charge *Perſonal Crimes* upon a *Party*, unleſs you can prove them to be rationally Conſequent to the *Tenets*, and *Actings* of *That Party*. Now if you can ſhew me any *Affinity* betwixt *our Principles*, and *Theſe Impieties*, you ſay ſomething: But if you cannot, The Duſt of your Argument puts out your own Eyes. I do not wonder, I muſt confeſs, to ſee a Nation Over-run with

Atheism, that has been so many Years under your Tuition: or to find the *Brat* of a *Conventicle* laid at the *Church-Door*.

N. C. **May not** *We* **charge** *Personal Extravagancies* **upon** *your Party*, **as well as** *You* **do upon** *Ours*?

C. Yes: If you can prove the same Agreement against *Us*, betwixt the *Faults* of the *One*, and the *Principles* of the *Other*, which we are able to justifie against *You*.

The *Episcopal Party*, you know, stood for the *King*; and it is undeniable, that the *King*, and *Church* had the same *Cause*, and *Fate*. It is as unquestionable on the *other* side, that the *Non-Conformists* destroy'd both the *One*, and the *Other*: Not by Accident neither, but by a *Form'd*, and *Excogitated Design*, wrap'd up, and couch'd in the very *Mystery*, and *Foundation* of the *Schism*: Your *Separation* from a Communion with the *Church*, resolving naturally into a *Combination* against the Entire Frame of the *Government*; till in the End, by the help of a *Peinful*, and *Well-affected Ministry*, the Generality of the People were Preach'd into This Division, [i. e.] *Those that could not* reach *the Cheat*, *were taught to* Scruple *at* Every Thing; *and Those that*

went

went along with it, *to make a* Conscience *of* Nothing. And this is it, that has brought us to be so Pester'd with *Enthusiasts*, and *Atheists*.

N. C. **But let me tell ye again, the** *Atheists* **are of the** *Other Party*.

C. And let me enform you too, that *your Proceedings* have made *Atheists*, more ways then One.

First: The meer *Quality* of your *Cause* has made *Atheism* the *Interest* of a great many of your *Partakers*; who, to put off the Thought of a Divine Vengeance attending them, if there *be* a God, Endeavour (for their own Quiet) to perswade themselves that there is *no God at all*.

Secondly: The Work has been carried on under the Masque of *Holiness*; and the most *Desperate Atheist* is nothing else but a *Crusted Hypocrite*. I speak of your *Religious Atheist*, who has This Odds of the *Profane*, and *Scoffing Wretch*, that he abuses God to his *Face*, and in his *own House*. The Great Atheists, *indeed, are* Hypocrites (says *Sir Francis Bacon*) *which are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; so as they must needs be Cauteriz'd in the End.* Essay of Atheism.

It is Remarquable (as I have elsewhere

recommended to your Obſervation) *that in the Holy Scripture there are not ſo many* Woes *pronounc'd, nor ſo many* Cautions *Inculcated,* againſt *any ſort of People,* as againſt *Hypocrites.* You ſhall there find, that God has given the Grace of *Repentance* to *Perſecutors, Idolaters, Murtherers, Adulterers, &c.* But I am miſtaken if the whole Bible yields any *one Inſtance* of a *CONVERTED Hypocrite.*

Thirdly: You have done more in your *Practiſes,* toward the *Vindication* of *Atheiſm,* then all that ever went before ye: and he that overlooks our Story, from 1640, to 1660, will find matter, not only to ſtagger a Weak Chriſtian, but to put a Wiſeman to a Second Thought, and make him Exclaim with the Prophet;

Pſalm 73. v. 12. [*Lo, Theſe are the Ungodly, Theſe Proſper in the World, and Theſe have Riches in Poſſeſſion. Then have I cleanſed my Heart in vain, and waſhed my Hands in Innocency,*

To ſee the ſame Men, *Swearing* to day, *with their Hands lifted up unto the Lord, in a Holy Covenant, to* Defend, *and* Preſerve His Majeſties Perſon: And a while after, with the ſame Conſecrated Lips, *bleſſing* that *Curſed Vote,* that manifeſtly led to his *Deſtruction.* (The *Vote* of *Non-Addreſſes*)

Addresses) To see *Ministers*, like so many *Pulpit-Weather-cocks*, *shifting* from *Party* to *Party*, till they have run through every Point of the Compass: *Swearing*, and *Counter-Swearing*: And when the City was split into more *Factions*, then *Parishes*, still to maintein, that *the whole Schism was Acted by the Holy Ghost*. To find the Pulpit Trading only in *dark*, and *Oraculous Delusions*, instead of *plain*, and *saving Truths*; and the Pretended *Messengers* of *Peace*, turn'd *Agents* for *Blood*: To *hear*, and *see* all *This*, and *More*, and the *Cause prosper* too, What could the Invention of Man add more to this *Temptation* to *Apostacy*?

Lastly; Your *Necessitated Toleration*, (*Necessitated*, I say; for you could never have Crush'd the Government without it) started so many lewd Opinions, that it was some Degree of *Modesty*, for fear of a *worse choice*, e'en to be of *No Religion at all*: And without Dispute, many People finding it left so Indifferent, of *what* Religion they were, became Themselves *as* Indifferent, whether they were of *Any*, or *No*. So that the *Scandal* which you would spitefully fasten upon the *Persons* of some of *our Party*, is found to be *Radical*, and *Constitutional*,

in the very *Elements* of *yours*. Neither is it All, that your *Imputation* is *miſplaced*; but I am afraid you'l find your ſelf in *Another Miſtake*.

Which of the Two, do you account the more Tolerable; *SCANDAL*, or *Schiſm*?

N. C. If by *SCHISM* you mean *A Refuſal to joyn with That Church, where I cannot Communicate without Sin*; And if by *SCANDAL*, you intend *ſuch Actions as are of evil Example, and miniſter Occaſion to our Neighbour, of Falling*: I think 'tis eaſily Determin'd, that the *One* is not to be *ſuffer'd*, and the *Other* not to be *condemn'd*.

C. I do not ſpeak of This or That *ſort*, or *degree* of *Schiſm*, and *Scandal*; but in the juſt *Latitude*, both of the *One*, and the *Other*. That is to ſay, (without more Circumſtance) Which do you take for the more Tolerable Miſchief of the Two?

N. C. Truly, betwixt a *Perverſe Separation*, and a *Notorious Scandal*, I think the Choice is hard; but I rather incline againſt the *Scandal*.

C. Now, if ye will believe *Sir Francis Bacon*, *Schiſm* is *Both*; [Hereſies, *and* Schiſms

Schisms (says he) *are of all others*, the greatest Scandals; *yea more then* Corruption of Manners.] Essay of Unity of Religion.

Consider it, as it stands in Opposition to *Unity*. (which is the *Bond* both of *Religion*, and *Society*) What can be more *Scandalous*, then that which renders *Religion*, *Ridiculous*? And That's the Effect of *Schism*. To see so many *Sects*, grinning one upon another, and yet *All Pretending* to the same *One*, and *Infallible Spirit*. Beside, that *Schism* seldome or never goes *alone*; and in Truth, it is but *Sedition*, in a *Disguise*: For we find, that our *Scrupulous Dissenters*, can with much *Ease*, and *Unity*, Agree in a *War*, though not in a *Ceremony*.

N. C. And may there not be *Conspiracies* in *Scandal*, as well as in *Schism*? *There*, with an Evident *Design* to bring *Contempt* upon *Religion*: Whereas *Here*, we find at least a *Colour*, and *Pretense* to *uphold* it. Further; the Sins which I accompt *Scandalous*, are many of them Levell'd at the *Prerogative* of *God Himself*; and in short, the Question is not, properly, and simply, betwixt *Schism*, and *Scandal*; but betwixt *Schism*, and all other Sins whatsoever, that may be Propagated by *Conversation*,

versation, (for That's the Latitude of *Scandal*.)

Again, let me observe from your own Mouth, that *Heresies* are *Scandals*: and several Heresies you know, both by the Laws of *God*, and *Man*, are Punish'd with *Death*: *He that Blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, shall be put to Death.* From whence you may gather some Difference sure, betwixt the Heinousness of the *One*, and of the *Other*.

Numb. 14 16.

C. You will proceed by a very Uncertain Rule, to measure the *Sin* by the *Punishment*: for *Political Laws* regard rather *Publique Conveniences*, then *Particular Cases* of *Conscience*. A Man shall lose his *Life* for *Picking a Pocket*, and but hazzard his *Ears* for a *False Oath*.

But if you'l refer the Matter to the *Just*, and *Infallible Judge* of all the World, to *God Himself*; look but into that Dreadful Judgment upon the *Schism* of *Korah*. Korah, Dathan, &c. *rose against* Moses, *with Two hundred and Fifty Captains of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and said unto them*, Ye take too much upon You, since all the Congregation is Holy, even

Numb. 16. 1.

Vers. 3.

even every One of them, and the Lord is among them. *Wherefore then lift ye your selves above the* Congregation of the Lord?

[And what follow'd?] *The Earth open'd her Mouth, and swallow'd them up with their Families, and all the Men that were with* Korah, *&c. A Fire came out from the Lord, and Consumed the Two Hundred and Fifty Men that Offer'd the Incense.* This set the *Multitude* a *muttering* against *Moses*, and *Aaron*; saying, Ye have killed the People of the Lord. Verse 32. Verse 35. Verse 41.

See now, what came of This *Muttering* too: Fourteen Thousand Seven Hundred of them were consumed by a Plague. Verse 49.

You have here, not only a Dreadful Instance of *God's Wrath* against *Schism*; but against a *Schism* also, carry'd on, in the *Stile* of *Our present Non-Conformists*: Two Hundred and Fifty Captains of the Assembly, Famous in the Congregation; Which Our *English* Translation renders,

An

Disc. of Relig. p. 25

An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men, Numerous among all Ranks, &c. These rose against *Moses*, and *Aaron*, and said unto Them, Ye take too much upon You. The Congregation is Holy, and the Lord is among Them. Wherefore do ye lift your selves above the Congregation of the Lord? What is This, but the Language of Our Age, the common Objection against the *Bishops*, for *Lording it over God's Heritage*. The Consequences I leave before you.

N. C. Give me leave now to pass an Observation upon your whole Discourse. You seem to have been very Punctual, and Methodical in the Distribution of the Parts of it. A *Toleration*, or *No Toleration*, was the Question. An *Universal Toleration* you found too *Wide*; A *Limited Toleration* too *Narrow*: and yet after all *This*, your Opinion was, that a *Toleration* under such and such *Modifications*, and *Restrictions* might be *admitted*: Upon which Terms,

Terms, I was content to come to an Issue with You. Now, since This Tender of a Compliance, You have not proceeded, Methinks, with that Candour which I expected from You. But the Main Streis of your Argument lies against the *Whole Party* of the *Non-Conformists*; And (in effect) against *any Toleration at all*: with little or no Regard to those *Accommodable Points*, that might have brought the Matter in Difference to some sort of Composure.

C. It is very True, That I am utterly against *Tolerating* the *Whole Party*, as a Thing of Certain *Inconvenience*, to *Religion*, and *Government*; and to the Ruine, no less of *your selves*, then of the *Publique*. Will *Presbytery* ever satisfie the *Independents Conscience*? Or will *Liberty* any better suit with the *Presbyterians*? And yet you could both of you joyn with the *Directory*, against the *Common-Prayer*; with the Authority of the Pretended *Assembly*, against That of the *Church*; wherein you have given Proof to the World, that you were not *United* upon any Consideration of *Conscience*, but with a *Design* upon a *Common Booty*. Ye overturn'd the Government, Divided the

the Spoil, Enrich't your selves, *Embroiled every thing*, and *Settled Nothing*. And yet in those Days there was no Act of Uniformity to hinder you.

This is enough to make Evident, that the *Non-Conformists* are *Intolerable*, in *Conjunction*: But if you think fit to make a Tryal, how far any *sort* of them may agree with our *Standard* of *Toleration*, *Apart*, Plead you the Cause of the *Presbyterians*, and let your Brother *Independent* here, (that has been a Witness to our whole Debate) take up the Cudgels for *his own Party*; Not forgetting, that

In the Question of *TOLERATION*, the Foundation of *FAITH, GOOD LIFE*, and *GOVERNMENT* is to be Secur'd.

N. C. **According to what Latitude are we to understand that which you call the** *Foundation* **of** *FAITH*?

C. According to the Latitude of the *APOSTLES CREED*; wherein are conteined *All the Articles of Simple Faith, which are Necessary to be Explicitly*

Chillingworth's Safe way, &c. p. 186.

ly Believed.] And whatsoever was found by *Them*, to be *Necessary*, and *Sufficient* to *Salvation*, continues so still, and ought to be so *Received*, and *Acknowledged* by *Us*: without insisting upon *Deductions*, and *Consequences*, as Points of *Prime*, and *Fundamental Necessity*; though *Occasionally*, and *Obliquely*, they become Necessary *too*. *This is the Word of Faith which we Preach, that if thou shalt Confess with thy Mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy Heart, that God hath raised him from the Dead, thou shalt be saved.* Rom. 10. 8 Here's the *Foundation* of *FAITH*: And in That of *GOOD LIFE*, respect is to be had to *Morality*, that nothing be *Tolerated* to the Encouragement of *Looseness*, *Sensuality*, and *Dissolution* of *Manners*.

As there is an Absolute *Necessity* of Providing against Doctrines and Opinions of this Quality; so I think there will be no great *Difficulty*, either of *Discovering*, or of *Suppressing* them: For they are of a Condition so *Notorious*, that they ly open to all People: and then so *Odious* they are, by reason of the Gross *Impiety*, and *Scandal*; that they have no *Friends* upon the Face of the Earth, (for their *own* sakes, I mean) but the profest Enemies

of

Christianity, and *Nature*. (It is another Case, when they are made use of in Subserviency to a *Faction*.) So that you may save your selves the Trouble of Catechising your Brethren upon These two Points, and rather spend your Time upon the remaining Caution, for *Securing* the *Government*: which will be much more to Our Purpose; For the Matter we are now upon, is a Question, rather of *Policy*, then of *Religion*.

Tole-

Toleration Discuss'd,

BETWIXT A

PRESBYTERIAN,

AND AN

INDEPENDENT.

SECT. XXV.

An Enquiry, upon a Short, and Impartial Survey *of the* Rise, Progress, *and* Issue *of the* War, *raised by the* Two Houses *in* 1641. *Whether were more* Criminal, *The* PRESBYTERIANS, *or the* INDEPENDENTS.

Presb. IN all our Arguments, and Pleas for *Toleration*, we are still bit in the Teeth, (as in Bar to our Demands) with *Dangerous Practises*, and *Opinions*; The *Murther* of the *Late King*; The *Over-turning* of the *Government*; and that we have a mind to

to serve the *Son*, as we did the *Father*. Now so much as the *Fact* is *undeniable*; and truly the *Exception* but *Reasonable*, as to those that did it; *We* are *first* to clear our selves of that Execrable Fact; wherein I am content to become an Undertaker for the *Presbyterians*) And to speak *afterward*, to the Justification of our *Principles*, and *Opinions*.

Indep. Give me leave then to Plead the Cause of the *Independents*; and to observe to you, in the first place, that the *Scotch Non-Conformists* under King *James* were Totally *Presbyterians*: and so were the *English Puritans* under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Presb. Were the *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, and *Brownists*, that started up in Those Days, *Presbyterians*?

Indep. Some *Dutch Anabaptists* came over indeed in 1560; but one Proclamation scatter'd them Immediately. And then for the *Familists*, and *Brownists*, you speak of; Alas! They gave the *Executioner* more Trouble then the *Government*, and were Suppress't as soon as Detected. But the Formal, and *United Confederacy* was still *Presbyterian*; and you must overthrow all the *Memorials*, and *Records* of

of Thoſe Times to gainſay it. Briefly; If you look forward, you will find the *Presbyterians* again under King *James*, at *Hampton Court*; The *Presbyterians* again, in the ſeveral Parliaments under King *Charles* the *First*; and ſo the ſame Hand ſtill, to the beginning of the *Scottiſh Broils* in 1637. which was but the *Midwifry* of the Plot, they had been ſo long a Hammering.

Presb. **You make nothing, it ſeems, of the Turbulent** *Independents*, **that went away to** *New England*, *Holland*, **and other Parts beyond the Seas, with all the Clamour, and Rancour Imaginable againſt the Government.**

Indep. Not to Juſtifie them in their *Clamour*; I muſt yet recommend their *Departure*, as a fair Teſtimony that they withdrew upon *Conſcience*. For by this Seceſſion, they put themſelves out of Condition to carry on a Faction: Whereas The *Presbyterians*, that had a further Deſign in Proſpect, ſtood their Ground, watch'd their Advantages, and gain'd their End.

Presb. **All this is but** *Talk*, **without** *Proof*.

Indep. It will be granted, I ſuppoſe, that the *Scottiſh Tumults* in 1637. and

the *Rebellion* upon the neck of them, in 1638 were advanc'd upon a *Presbyterian* accompt: and consequently, that Those were of the same Leven, that Voted them *Good Subjects*, and *Money* for their pains, and Adopted them their *DEAR BRETHREN*, for so doing.

Were not the *Principals* of the Faction in the *Long Parliament*, every Man of them *Presbyterian*? Were not the *Army*, and *Assembly*, *Presbyterian*; And all their *Votes*, *Actions*, and *Conclusions* Influenc'd accordingly? Who were they that Invited the *Scots* into *England* the Second time; (*Nov.* 7. 1647.) That Imposed the *Covenant*; Prosecuted the *War*, under the Countenance of it; and made it the Test of Discrimination, betwixt the *Malignant*, and *Well affected Parties*: That Settled the *Directory*, Nay the *Presbytery* it self? Were not These, *Presbyterians*?

Ex. Coll. P. 737.

Who were they, but *Presbyterians*, that stripp't the King of his *Regalities*, and *Revenues*; *Commission'd* an *Army* against him; *Fought* him, *Pursu'd* him; and in fine, brought him to utter *Ruine*?

Presb. **You will find the Late King of another Opinion, in his Grand Declaration, of** *Aug.* **12. 1642. where he complains of the** *Tumultuous Assemblies* of

of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other *Sectaries*. Ex Coll. p. 532.

Indep. But still you will find in the same *Page*, that These very People were Animated, and Countenanced, by *Presbyterians*; and Acted, as the *Creatures*, and *Servants*, of *That Interest*.

Presb. *Can you say that the* English, *or* Scottish Presbyters *did ever go about to Dissolve* Monarchy? Interest of Eng. p. 44.

Indep. Yes: And I do aver, that the *Nineteen Propositions* of *June* 2. 1642. were as much a *Dissolution* of *Kingly Government*, as the very Act it self (of *March* 17. 1648.) for *Abolishing* it. And the *Uxbridge Propositions* were to the same purpose. Ex. Coll. p. 307. Scobel's Acts, Part 2. pa. 7.

Presb. **You know very well, that after the** *New-Modelling* **of the** *Army*, **the** *Presbyterians* **were able to do nothing; and this was a good while before the King went to the** *Scots*.

Indep. Let us see then how the *Presbyterians* behaved themselves, after his Majesty cast himself into the Protection of the *Scotch* Army before *Newark*, in *May*, 1646.

Notice was Immediately given of it, to the *Two Houses*, by the *Commissioners* of the *Army*; Importing their Adherence

to the *Covenant*, and *Treaty*; and that they had no fore-knowledge of his Majesties Coming. The *English Army* presently March'd with 5000 *Horse*, and *Dragoons*, toward *Newark*; and our *Brethren* fairly retreated with the Prey in the Foot toward *Newcastle*. After This, Both Parties stood at Gaze for several Months; but not without a World of Tedious Papers, betwixt the *Scotch Commissioners*, and the *Two Houses*, touching *their Joynt Right in Disposing of the Person of the King*. But in the Conclusion, The *Presbyterians* Compounded the Controversie for the Sum of 400000 *l* In *May* they took their *Sovereign* into their *Protection*; In the *December* following, they *Sold* him; and in *February* they *Deliver'd* him *up*; And All This, *According to their* COVENANT.

Presb. **They must needs** *Deliver* **him** *up*, **when they could** *Keep* **him no longer.**

Indep. They had at that time the City of *London* to *Friend*; a *Balancing Vote* in the *House of Commons*; a Considerable Mixture in the *Army*; *Scotland behind* them; (Entire, if ever the Kings Interest came in Play.) And at least *Ten Thousand* Men in a Body. (The *Royal Party* over and

and above.) So that here was no visible *Force* to *over-awe* them: And *London* himself acknowledged as much, at a Conference (*Octob.* 6. 1646.) *If any such Course shall be taken* (says he) *or any Demand made for Rendring of his Person, which cannot stand with his* Honour, *and* Safety; *or which cannot consist with our* Duty, Allegeance, *and* COVENANT; *nor with the* Honour *of That* Army, *to whom (in time of his Extreme Danger) he had his Recourse for* Safety: *It cannot be Expected that we can be Capable of* SO BASE AN ACT: And if (*to shun this, and avoid occasion of Quarrelling between the Kingdoms*) *He shall go to* Scotland, *and resent his Expulsion out of* England; *and crave the Assistance of That Kingdom for Recovery of his Right to This Crown: He may in a short time, raise such Forces in* Scotland, *and* Ireland, *as with the Assistance of* Forreign Princes, *these Kingdoms may be made a Field of Blood, &c.*

By This, it appears Evidently, that They were under no Necessity of Delivering the King: And you may now see their Opinion of the Action it self. [*If it be Contrary* (say the *Scotch Commissioners*) *to the Law, and Common Practise of* Answer to the Vote of Sept. 24. 1646.

Nations, to Deliver up the meaneſt Subject *fled to them, though it be for the Greateſt Crimes; How much more would the World abroad condemn our* Army, *for a* BASE, DISHONOURABLE *Act, if they ſhould Deliver up their* Head, *and* SOVEREIGN, (*having caſt himſelf into their Hands*) *to be Diſpoſed of at the Arbitrament of another Nation!*

Presb. **But yet you ſaw that they Condition'd for his** *Honour, Freedom,* **and** *Safety.*

Indep. That's a Shuffle: For upon ſuch Terms did they render him, that they might have caſt a *Sheep* into a Herd of *Wolves*, with as much *Confidence*, and *Likelihood* of *Safety*. You are here to diſtinguiſh the *Faction* of *Scotland*, from the *Nation*: No Country affording greater Inſtances of *Honour*, and *Loyalty*. Nay, I have heard (even on This Occaſion) that upon the Kings Earneſt Deſire to go for *Scotland*, It was carried in the *Negative* but by *Two Voices*.

Presb. **Can you Imagine, that if they had apprehended any Danger to his** *Royal Perſon,* **they would not have ventur'd their Lives a thouſand times over, to have ſav'd him?**

Indep.

Indep. No, no: But on the Contrary; They *foreſaw* the Danger, *debated* it; and yet *expos'd* him: Nay, which is ſtill worſe, they *reſerv'd* him for it. Were not his Majeſties Friends kept from him, by a ſtrict Order, at *Newcaſtle?* Was he not *Spied*, and *Guarded*, for fear of an *Eſcape?* And upon Information, that He intended one, Was not a *narrower Watch* ſet over him?

That they foreſaw the Danger, is confeſt by the *Chancellor* Himſelf. *Leſt we ſhould walk in the Dark*, (ſays he) *upon Obſcurity of Ambiguous Words, I ſhall deſire, that the Word of* **Diſpoſing of the Kings Perſon**, *may be rightly underſtood. For* Dolus verſatur in Univerſalibus. *For* to Diſpoſe of the Perſon of the King, as *Both Houſes*, or *Both Kingdoms* ſhall think fit, *may in ſome ſenſe be to* DEPOSE, *or* WORSE. And in a Speech to his Majeſty, he goes yet further. *If your Majeſty* (ſays he) *ſhall refuſe to aſſent to the Propoſitions; (which God forbid) you will loſe all your Friends, loſe the City, and the Country; and All* England *will joyn againſt you as one Man: And (when all hope of Reconciliation is paſt) it is to be feared they will Proceſs, and Depoſe you, and ſet up another Go-*

vernment. Upon your Majesties refusing the Propositions, both Kingdoms will be Constreined (for their mutual Safety) to **Agree, and Settle Religion, and Peace** *without you: which (to our unspeakable Grief) will ruine your Majesty, and your Posterity. And if your Majesty reject our Faithful Advice, and lose* England *by your* **Wilfulness, your Majesty will not be permitted to come and ruine** *Scotland.*

Pres. **These Propositions, I suppose were of Absolute Necessity to the Well-being of the Publique; they would never have been brought in Competition else with the Kings** *Freedom, Life,* and *Dignity.*

Indep. The King was *first, to Justifie the Proceedings of the Two Houses,* and to deliver up to *Death, Beggery,* and *Infamy* his Whole *Party.*

2. *To Settle the* Militia *of* England, *and* Ireland, *in the Hands of the* Parliament, for Twenty Years; *giving them Authority to raise* Men, *and* Moneys.

3. *To make void all* Honours *since* 1642; *and no* Peers *admitted for the future, to Sit and Vote in* Parliament, *but by Consent of* Both Houses: who were likewise *To dispose of all* Great Places, *and* Offices *of* Honour, *in* England, *and* Ireland.

4. *His*

4. *His Majesty was to Swear, and Sign the* COVENANT, *and Command the taking of it throughout the Three Kingdoms; Abolishing* Episcopacy, *and* Settling Religion as Both Houses Should Agree.

Upon his Majesties Refusal to Sign These Propositions, the *Scotch Declaration* of *Jan.* 16. 1646. tells us, That *there would be a Joynt Course taken by Both Kingdoms* concerning the Disposal of His Majesties Person.——*With Respect had to the* Safety, *and* Preservation *of his* Royal Person, *IN THE PRESERVATION, AND DEFENCE OF THE TRUE RELIGION, AND LIBERTIES OF THE KINGDOMS*—— *According to the COVENANT.* And According to the *COVENANT*, His Majesties Person was Disposed of.

Presb. And do you believe that the *Two Houses* would have used the King any better, if he had gone to Them?

They made it *Treason* Immediately, and *Death without Mercy*, for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Person; upon a Supposition, that his Majesty was then in *London*. This was the fourth of *May*; and on the fifth, The *Commons* Voted him to *Warwick*

wick Castle: which was Unvoted again upon the ninth. In *June*, the Kings going to the *Scots*, was Voted *A Design to Prolong the War*. And this was as much the Action of the *Independents*, as the Other was of the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. Pardon me there, I beseech ye. You see by the Voting *Back* and *Forward*, that the House of Commons was upon a hard Tug, but the *Scottish Party* was totally *Presbyterian*.

But will you hear the *Kirk* speak for it self, after the putting of the King into *English Hands*? *They Exhort their* COVENANTED BRETHREN, (the Assembly at *Westminster*) *to hold fast their Solemn League and Covenant: to entertein a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations*, (Feb. 12. 1646.) (but not a Syllable of the *King*) Again, (*June* 18. 1647.) *The* General Assembly *of the* Kirk, *presses the* Two Houses *to a speedy Establishment of the* Presbytery: (but not a Word again of his Majesty.) And in truth, their *Silence* is a Favour, considering how they order him, when they speak of him: As you may observe in a Resolve of theirs, upon a Question Debated at *Edinburgh*.

If

If the King be Excluded from Government *in* England, *for not Granting the* Propoſitions *concerning* Religion, *and the* Covenant; *and for not giving a Satisfactory Anſwer to the* Remanent Propoſitions: *Whether in That Caſe it be Lawful for this Kingdom to aſſiſt him, for the Recovery of the Government, or whether it be not Lawful?*

Being put to it, We cannot but Anſwer, in regard of the Engagement *of This Kingdom, by* Covenant, *and* Treaty, *NEGATIVE.*

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

1. *That the Kingdom of* Scotland, *ſhall be Governed as it hath been theſe laſt Five Years; All Means being uſed, that the* King *might take the* Covenant, *and Paſs the* Propoſitions.

2. *That the taking of the* Scots Covenant, *and Paſſing* ſome *of the* Propoſitions, *doth not give Warrant to aſſiſt him againſt* England.

3. *That upon bare taking the* National Covenant, *we may not receive him.*

4. *That the Clauſe in the* Covenant, *for* Defence of the Kings Perſon, *is to be underſtood,* in Defence, and Safety of the Kingdoms.

5. *That*

5. *That the King shall not Execute any Power in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *until such time that he hath Granted the* Propositions *concerning* Religion, *and the* Covenant; *and given a Satisfactory Answer to Both Kingdoms in the rest of the* Propositions, *presented to him by both Kingdoms at* Newcastle.

6. *That if his Majesty refuse to Pass the* Propositions, he shall be disposed of according to the *COVENANT*, *and* Treaty.

7. *That the Union be firmly kept between the Kingdoms, according to the* Covenant, *and the* Treaties.

Here's *PRESBYTERIAN LOYALTY*: If the King would have consented *to give up his Crown*; *Blast his Conscience*; *Betray his Trust*, *and Sacrifice his Friends*; he might perchance have been allow'd the *Pageantry* of a *Court*, and some *Mock-Properties* of *Royalty*: but upon other Terms, the *Kirk* you see gives him no Quarter.

The King is now under the Care of his new *Governours*; *Holdenby* is his *Prison*; The *Question* is Matter of *Church-Government*; and his Majesty is prest to an

Al-

Alteration. Some Two Months are spent in the fruitless Desires, and Expectations of his *Chaplains*, for his Advice, and Comfort: and any *Two* (of *Twelve* in Nomination) would satisfie his Majesty. But *That could not be*; (they said) No; *not a Common-Prayer-Book for his own Private Use.* These were the *Presbyterians* still.

Upon the fourth of *June* 1647. *Cornet Joyce*, with a Party of Horse took the King from *Holdenby*; under colour of preventing other Secret Designs upon the Person of his Majesty. The next day, at a *Rendezvous* near *Newmarket*, was Read, and Signed The *Armies ENGAGEMENT*: compleining of the *Two Houses*, and in particular, of a Vote they had Past for *Disbanding* the *Army*. (Where Note, that the *Houses* were still *Presbyterian*) The Sum of their *ENGAGEMENT* was: That *they would Disband, upon full Satisfaction received, and not without it.* This *Liberty* was menag'd all this while, with much Formality of *Duty*, and *Respect*: The *Houses* at every Turn advertis'd concerning the *King's Motions*: and (*June* the 9th) consulted how further to Dispose of his Majesty. Some Three days after, the Army drew toward

London,

London, and *Alarm'd* the *City*: (contrary to an Expreſs *Order* of the *Houſes*, the very day before) A Months Pay was their Errand, and to ſave Carriage, they made a ſtep from *Royſton* to *St. Albans* to receive it.

On *June* the 15, out comes a Terrible *Repreſentation*, with *Deſires* from the *Army*, Againſt all *Arbitrary Powers*, and *Intereſts* whatſoever: Pleading the *Presbyterian Preſidents*, and the *Principles* of the *Two Houſes* in their *Juſtification*.

The Parliament (ſay they) *hath Declar'd it no Reſiſting of Magiſtracy, to ſide with the Juſt Principles, and Law of* Nature, *and* Nations; (being That Law upon which we have aſſiſted you) *and that the Souldiery may Lawfully hold the Hands of the General, who will turn his Cannon upon his Army, on purpoſe to deſtroy them.* They Demanded, *The Purging of the Houſes*; and *Retrenching the Power of Committees*; *An Accompt for Publique Moneys*; *A Period of the Preſent Seſſion, and Limits for the Future, &c.*

It could not chuſe but Gall the *Two Houſes*, to ſee their Throats cut with their own Weapons: but ſtill they kept up their Greatneſs of *Pretenſe*, and *Stile*;

Stile; and by an *Order* as *Imperative* as ever, they commanded the Placing of his Majesty at *Richmond*; in Order to a *Treaty*, forsooth, *for a Safe, and Well-grounded Peace*, But the Army had another Game to Play; However, what the *Presbyterians* would have done upon that Occasion, may be seen in what they did afterward, at the *Isle of Wight*, in his Majesties last Distress, and Extremity.

Presb. **You are willing, I find, to pass over the Barbarism of the** *Independents* **toward his Majesty, while they had him at** *Hampton-Court*; **but there is enough yet behind, to make That Faction Odious to all Eternity.**

Indep. Truly no: but I would not spin out a *Debate* to the length of a *History*. As to the *Barbarisms* you speak of, let his Majesty Himself be heard.

Colonel Whaley, *I have been so civilly used by* You, *and Major* Huntington, *that I cannot but by this parting Farewell, acknowledge it under my Hand.* Nov. 11. 1647. And again; from *Carisbrook Castle* to the *General*, *Nov.* 27. 1647.

The Free Liberty which you willingly afforded us to have of the Use of our Own Chaplains, *makes us at this time not only*

to

to Acknowledge your Former Civilities, but, &c. So that His Majesties Condition appears to have been somewhat more easie at *Hampton-Court*, then before it was at *Holdenby*. Nay, most certain it is, that the *Presbyterians*, even at That very Time, did the Deadly Thing that brought the King to the *Scaffold*.

Presb. **How could That be; when the** *Two Houses*, **by** *Purging*, **and** *Modelling*, **were Subjected Absolutely to the Devotion of the** *Army?*

Indep. Thus they did it. His Majesty was at That time, upon fair Terms with *Cromwel*, and *Ireton*; and not without large hopes of a Final Accommodation. (The Author of *The History of Independency*, (Pa. 35.) is positive, as to *their Treating with the King*) While This was in Agitation, the *Presbyterians* were at work on the other hand, to break the King's Confidence in the *Army*; by Imputations of *Treachery*, and *Levity*: to divert his Majesty to the Seeking of Relief elsewhere; with particular Undertakings of great Matters from *Scotland*, and the City of *London*. This way of Tampering might very well put the King to a stand: which *Cromwel* no sooner perceived, but he Immediately betook him-

himself to a Course of Extremity: Irritated (over and above, as is credibly affirmed) by an Advise from *Argyle*, in confirmation of his Jealousie.

His Majesties next Remove was to the *Isle of Wight*: Where, for Ceremonies sake, he was presented with *Four Bills*; and upon his Refusal to pass them, followed the Vote of *NON-ADDRESSES*. *In Passing these Bills*, His Majesty had not only divested *Himself*, and His *Successors*, of all *Sovereignty*; but Subjected his People to the *Basest*, and most *Absolute Tyranny* that ever was Exercis'd upon Mortals.

Presb. **You will not call This the Act of the** *Presbyterians*, **I hope.**

Indep. No, I will not: But yet I must tell you, that the *Presbyterians*, upon this Juncture, did every jote as much as this Amounts to.

So soon as the *Parliament* of *Scotland* was thoroughly Inform'd of the Distress, and Danger of the King's Condition, the Matter was presently Debated; and a Resolution taken to Raise an Army for his Majesties Relief. In which Proceeding, they were violently opposed by the *General Assembly*, without any regard at all to the *King's Life*, at that time in Question.

See *The Humble Deſires of the* Commiſſioners *of the* General Aſſembly *to the* Parliament, *Pag.* 13. (*We deſire that his Majeſties late* Conceſſions, *and* Offers *concerning* Religion, *as they have been by the* Church, *ſo may be by the* Parliament *declared* UNSATISFACTORY. (*March* 22. 1648.) And afterward:

Ibid. p. 60. (*Jan.* 10. 1648.) *That his Majeſties late* Conceſſions, *and* Offers *concerning* Religion, *may by your Lordſhips*, DIRECTLY, *and* POSITIVELY, *be* Declared UNSATISFACTORY *to this preſent Parliament. And that there ſhall be no* Engagement *for* Reſtoring *his Majeſty to one of his Houſes, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, before Security, and Aſſurance be had from his Majeſty, by his Solemn* OATH, *under his* HAND, *and* SEAL, *that he ſhall for* HIMSELF, *and his* SUCCESSORS, *Conſent, and Agree to Acts of Parliament, enjoyning the League and* Covenant, *and fully Eſtabliſhing* Presbyterian Government, Directory *of Worſhip, and* Confeſſion of Faith *in all his Majeſties Dominions: and that his Majeſty ſhall never make Oppoſition to any of theſe, or endeavour any Change thereof.*

This is Rivetted with a Miſchief. And pray'e

pray'e shew me now the Material Difference, between Precluding His Majesty by a Vote of *NO ADDRESS*, or by a Resolution of *NO AGREEMENT*: His *Honour*, and *Conscience* being equally at Stake on either side.

To give you the Sum of all in short. The *Presbyterians began* the War; *Pursu'd* it; made the *King* a *Prisoner*; *Sold* him; and in the Depth of his Calamity, presented him with *Temptation*, instead of *Comfort*. No *Composition* would be heard of, but the *Forfeiture* of his *SOUL*, for the *Saving* of his *LIFE*.

Presb. But the *Independents* however, *Crown'd* the Wickedness with his *Blood*.

Indep. Suppose it so: *They* did only *Execute* the Sentence, but the *Presbyterians* Pronounc'd it. Neither did they *Execute* it, as *Independents*; or under colour of any Impulse of *Religion*, or *Conscience*, but upon *Civil*, and *Political Pretexts*. He *was adjudged to be put to Death as a* Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, *and* Publique Enemy: Not for Refusing to Enter into a *Church-Covenant*, or Establish *Liberty of Conscience*; but upon a Pestilent Motive of *Diabolical Policy*, and *State*. Whereas, the *Presbyterians* per-

secuted him as *PRESBYTERIANS*; and depriv'd him of his *Royal Support, Dignity, Friends, Freedom,* (in Effect) *Life* and all, because he would not renounce his *Reason*, and *Conscience*, in favour of their *Government*. And I am verily perswaded, that you will have as little to say for your *Principles*, as for your *Actions*.

SECT. XXVI.

What Party *soever* DEMANDS a Toleration, *and yet* Maintains, *that It is* Destructive *both of* Church, *and* State, *to* GRANT *one, Is an* ENEMY *to* BOTH.

Indep. AS to the Point in Question; It lies Naturally before us to speak first to the Thing, in it *self*; and we may afterward consider it in the *Consequences*.

In the Desire of a *Toleration*, the *Independents* ask no more then they would be ready to Allow; I wish the *Presbyterians* could say the like.

Presb. In the large sense of Allowing

ing all sorts of *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, as the late *Independent Government* did, I do confess you have outdone the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. And yet Those very *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, were *Your White-Boys*, and *Favourites*, so long as they serv'd *Your Ends*. They had none of this Language from you, when they Tumulted against *Bishops*, and *Common-Prayer*; *Ceremonies*, and *Popish Lords*. While they were the Instruments of *Your Ambition*, they were the *Godly, Well-affected Party*: So that *Heretiques*, it seems, will down well enough with your *Politiques*, though not with your *Consciences*: Provided they will content themselves to be *Damn'd*, and let the *Presbyterians* alone to *Govern*.

Presb. The *Independents* made sweet work in *Holland*, did they not? And where was your Spirit of *Toleration*, and *Forbearance*, I beseech you, in *New-England*?

Indep. You cannot say that we gave any Trouble in *Holland* to the *State*; or that we fell foul there upon *Different Judgments*. In *New England*, 'tis true, we excluded the *Gortonists*, *Familists*, *Seekers*, *Antinomians*, *Anabaptists*; and Subjected them to the Censure of the *Ci-*

vil Power, as People of Dangerous Principles, in Respect both of *Good Life*, and *Government*. Which Proceeding of ours methinks might serve to disabuse those that call *Independency* the *Genus Generalissimum* of all *Errours*, *Hæresies*, *Blasphemies*, and *Schisms*: and take the *Church way* of *New-England*, for that sort of *Independency*. They did also exclude *Papacy*, and *Prelacy*; The *Latter*, perchance, more out of Regard to a *Temporary Convenience*, then upon any rooted Principle of Implacable *Severity*. And I perswade my self, the *Episcopal Party* will witness thus much on our Behalfs; that as to the Freedom of their *Meetings*, and way of *Worship*, in the late Revolutions, they had much better Quarter from the *Independents*, then ever they had from the *Presbyterians*: There was no Persecuting of Men for *Covenants*, and *Directories*: So that Thus far, the *Independents* have made their *Professions* of *Liberty* good, by their *Practise*.

Presb. And are not the *Classical Presbyterians* as much for a *Lawful Liberty*, as the *Congregationals*? [*Let there be a* Toleration *in Religion, excepting to* Blasphemy, Treason, *or* Gross Errours.] *Bear with the Weak*; Tolerate *the* Tolerable,

Old Non-Conf. p. 41.

lerable, *and for the* Intolerable, *we beg not your* Toleration. Here's the Sense and Desire of the *Presbyterian Divines* that were Commission'd about the Review of the *Service-Book*. Petit. for Peace, p. 20.

Indep. This is only a *New Song*, to an *Old Tune*. The *Presbyterians* have just the same need of the *Independents* at *this day*, that they had some *nine and twenty Years ago*. The Author of *The Discourse of Religion* has many good Remarques upon the *Papists*, that may be very well applied to the *Presbyterians*; and *This* for *One*. [*Things past* (says he) *may afford Prognostiques of things to come*. So that we are to gather what you *intend now*, from what you *did*, after saying the same things *before*. Or if you had rather come to a Tryal, upon the *Evidence* of your own *Manifestos*, and *Declarations*, then upon the *History* of your *Practises*; I shall make use of *no other Testimony* against you. Par. 1. p. 6.

The *Presbyterians* press the *Demand* of a *Toleration*, as a very *reasonable Request*; and yet they Themselves have pronounc'd Judgment against it, as a thing against *Conscience*, Destructive of *Publique Order* both in *Church*, and *State*, and of the Peace of *Common Society*.

Gangræna Part 3. p. 282. Ibid. 303.

Toleration (says Mr. *Edwards*) *cannot be Condescended to, without a Breach of Oath, and Covenant.* [*It is the Depth of* Satan, *this Design of a* Toleration. *He does not move for a* Toleration *of* Heresies, *and* Grosse Errours; *but an Allowance of a* ☞ LATITUDE *in some* LESSER DIFFERENCES *with* Peaceableness. *This is* Candidus ille Diabolus, *That White Devil, &c.* The *London Ministers Letter* to the *Assembly*, in 1645. declares it *Repugnant to the Solemn League and Covenant.* The Commissioners of the Kirk of *Scotland*, do *Protest, and Declare against it, as Inconsistent with, and Repugnant to the Word of God.*

Rutherf. Free Disp. p. 267.

As to the Influence of a *Toleration* upon *Church*, and *State*; Mr. *Edwards* tells us, that *The Party Tolerated will never rest Working, till they get the upper hand, and Suppress the Other.* *Rutherford* is positive, that *such Opinions, and Practises as make an Evident Schism in a Church, and set up* two Distinct Churches, *of* Different Forms, *and* Government, *are* NOT *to be* Tolerated. *For by their Principles they labour, each the Destruction of the other; and this* Toleration *destroys* Peace, *and* Unity. Again, The *London Ministers* are of Opinion, that *it will produce* Gangræna, P. 293. Free Disp. p. 98.

endless,

causeless, and unjust Revolts from the Ministry, and Congregations. The Peoples Minds will be Troubled, and in Danger to be Subverted. Heart-burnings will be Fomented, and Perpetuated to Posterity. The Godly, Peinful, and Orthodox Ministers will be Discouraged, and Despis'd. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten up by Frivolous Disputes, and Janglings. And the whole Church of England, *in short time, will be swallowed up with Distraction, and Confusion. The* Kingdom *will be wofully weakned also, by Scandals, and Divisions: The Power of the Magistrate will not be only weakned, but utterly overthrown, by the Anti-Magistratical Principles, and Practises of the* Independents: *And the whole Course of Religion in Private* Families, *will be interrupted, and undermined.*

Not to multiply Authorities more then necessary, This has been the strein of all your Proceedings: *Imperiously*, and *Inexorably Strict*, and *Rigorous* in *Imposing* upon *Others*; and as *Shamelesly Importune*, and *Clamorous* for *Liberty* to *Your selves*. But what have I more to do, then to pass Sentence upon you, out of your own Mouths? *You cannot in* Conscience desire *a Toleration, if you understand it to be*

be Against Conſcience *to* Grant *it.* And *the very* Asking *of That which you believe would draw a* Deſtruction *upon* Church *and* State, *is Ground enough for a ſtrong Preſumption that you* Intend *it.*

Presb. **That which was a Reaſonable Cauſe of Refuſal, from the** *Presbyterians* **to the** *Independents*, **will not hold good from the Church of** *England* **to the** *Presbyterians*: **Either in reſpect of the** *Stability* **of our** *Government*, **or of the** *Sobriety* **of our** *Principles.*

SECT. XXVII.

In Caſe of a Toleration, *or* Indulgence *to be* Granted, *Whether has the fairer* Pretenſe *to it*; *The* CLASSICAL Way *of the* PRESBYTERIANS, *or the* CONGREGATIONAL Way *of the* INDEPENDENTS; *in Reſpect of their* Form *of* Government.

Indep. THe *Presbyterians* (you ſay) are rather to be *Tolerated* then the *Independents*, in regard of the *Stability* of their *Government*, and the *Sobriety* of their *Principles*. To ſpeak in this

this Place to the Matter of their *Government*; I think your *Argument* is very *ill grounded*. For in Deliberations of this Nature, the Cautions that occur to all Magistrates are chiefly These Two. *First*, in case of an *Indulgence*, that it may be placed upon a Party, which in Probability, *would not* disturb the Publique if they *could*; But *Secondly*, to make sure however, (for fear of the worst) that they shall not be *able* to do it, if they *would*. So that whether a *Stable*, and *United*, or a *Loose*, and *Distracted Interest* may with more *Security* be *Indulged*, is the *Question*.

Presb. You may as well ask, Whether *Order*, or *Confusion* be more *Tolerable* in a *Government*.

Indep. That *Order* which is *Necessary* in the *Government* it *self*, is *Dangerous* in the *Enemies* of it. But deliver your *Exceptions* to the *Toleration* of those which you call *Independents*, in Regard of their way of *Government*.

Presb. You have already, in a good part, sav'd me that Labour. But a Man shall not need to go further for an *Exception*, than to the very *Denomination* of them; which Imports an Exemption from all *Jurisdiction*, both *Ecclesiastical*, and *Civil*.

Indep.

Indep. But what will become of That Exception, when I shall tell you, that those People are no more *Independent*, then the *Presbyterians*? [*We depend upon the* Magistrate *for* Civil Government, *and* Protection; *and upon* Christ, *and his Word, for the Rule of our Administrations.* Nay, we insist upon it, that the Congregational *Way, is the only true, Original* Presbytery, *which is Peculiar to every Particular Church of Christ.* But if you call us *Independent*, as in distinction to *Subordinate*, we are not only ready, as such *Independents*, to defend our selves; but by virtue of That very *Independency*, we pretend to claim an Advantage over the *Presbyterians*.

Cotton's Way, p. 11.

Burton's Vind. p. 18

Presb. **I could tell ye of your** *Church-Covenants*, **and** *Defensive Leagues*, **against the Commands of Authority.**

Indep. But I could speak homer to you, of your *National Leagues* and *Covenants*; which all the World knows, are the grand Engines to disjoynt Communities, and remove the Foundations of Government. And I do not much wonder at it, where *the Act of a General Assembly, Influences the Consciences of a whole Nation.* As to any *Covenants*, and *Leagues* against the *Magistrate*; neither do the *Independents*

dents practise them, nor would they stand them in any stead, if they had a mind to play the Villeins; for want of an Orderly *Dependence*, to *unite*, and to *oblige* them.

Presb. And for That Reason, you Imagine, the *Independents* may be better *Tolerated*, then the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. Truly for That Main Reason, with Twenty Great ones more in the Belly of it.

It were a wild thing for a Man to apprehend any danger to a Government, from a Faction that is Divided, and Distracted within it self; and without any Common Tye of Agreement to Unite it. And This do I take to be the Condition of the *Independents*, (which for Discourse sake, we will suppose to be a *Faction*.) Their *Congregations* are generally *small*; The Members of them, gather'd up here and there, and so Scattered, and Intermix'd with People of other Perswasions, that they have neither *Opportunity*, nor *Encouragement* to joyn in a *Conspiracy*. Besides that in Respect of their *Church-Parity*, they want that ordinary *Medium* of Superiority, and Subjection, to link them together in a Combination, upon the Point of *Common Interest*. Another Difficulty

Difficulty will arise from the *Affections* of the Pastors themselves; who are not without their touches of *Disgust*, and *Emulation*, to see themselves either *Out-vied*, or *Deserted*: the *One*, by Fuller Congregations; and the *Other*, by the Removal of their Members from one Church to another.

Presb. **If I am not mistaken, you have provided against the Inconvenience of Breaking in One upon Another; by an Obligation at your Entrance into any Church, not to forsake it without Leave. But proceed.**

Indep. There remains yet behind, another Obstacle, equal to all the rest: Which is; that the *Independents* have no Men that are Eminent for *Popularity*, *Interest*, *Great Fortunes*, and *Abilities*, to head them. Now how it is possible for a Party under all these Disadvantages, to work any Mischief to the State, I am not wise enough to imagine. If you object, that the late *Independent Government* had many Persons at the Helm, that were qualified with these Circumstances. I must Answer you, that whatever they were, they did not set up Originally for *Independency*.

Presb. **So that upon the Result, to save**

save your Party from Appearing *Dangerous*, you have made it *Contemptible*. And your Argument would have run very well in These Words. *The* Independents *may better be Tolerated then the* Presbyterians: *for no Body that has either* Brains, *or* Reputation, *will own* Independency.

Indep. At an Interest (you should have said) *whereupon to work any Change of Government.* (And this would have been point-blank to the Question, and your Period never the worse for't.)

Now if my Reason be good on the behalf of the *Independents*, that They may be *Tolerated* without any Risque to the Commonwealth, upon the Considerations before mentioned: It will hold as good against the *Presbyterians*; because of the very Contrary Circumstances in their Government, and Case. That is to say, They are at great *Agreement* in the Orderly Reduction, and Connexion of their *Polity*; and they have commonly found *Great Friends* to uphold them in their Pretenses.

My first Exception to *Presbytery* is, that it is a *National Church-Government*. And Methinks *Two National Church-Governments* in the *same Kingdom*, looks like a

Sharing

Sharing of the *Sovereignty*, and the setting up of *Christs Vicar* against *Gods Vicegerent*. And what will the People say in the Matter, but either that the Government thinks them in the *Right*, or else that 'tis *affraid* of them? The *former* Supposition draws the *Simple* into the Party upon *Conscience*; and the *Latter* engages the *Crafty* upon *Interest*.

To take it now in the Constitutive *Parts* of it; The Scale of the *Presbytery* rises Thus: From *Parochial* Inspection, to *Classical*; from *Classical* to *Provincial*; and from *Provincial*, to *National*: Which Extensive *Latitude*, and *Comprehension*, does plainly discover, that there was a Design of *Sole*, and *Sovereign Dominion* in the very Institution of the *Discipline*.

To say nothing in this Place of the *Absolute*, and *Independent Authority* Claimed, and Exercised by the *General Assembly*; I shall only observe this to you: That they have the best Security in the World, for their Subjects Obedience to all their Acts, and Conclusions whatsoever. For *Life*, *Fortune*, *Soul*, and all lies at Stake: They *Fine*, *Punish*, *Degrade*, *Excommunicate* at Pleasure. And this is the True Reason, that from time to time, the *Presbyterial Discipline* has had

had the Countenance of ſo many Popular *Advocates*, and Abetters. For certainly, it is the beſt Foundation for an Alteration of State, that ever was yet laid upon the Face of the Earth; and their Work is three quarters done to their hand, in the very Diſpoſition of the *Model*.

Only one Obſervation more, and I have done. And That is, The Provident Commixture of *Laity*, and *Clergy* in all their Counſels; *Theſe* to Attaque the *Church*, the *Other*, the *State*; by which means, they may the more commodiouſly carry on *Schiſm*, and *Sedition* in their proper Seaſons: and leave a Door of Preferment, and Advantage, open to all Comers.

I will not ſay yet, that it is *abſolutely Impoſſible* for a *Proteſtant Monarchy*, and this *Double-refin'd Presbytery* to proſper in the ſame Soil: But if I had Money in my Pocket, I would not give any Prince in Chriſtendom above Eighteen Months Purchaſe for his Crown, that ſhould put it to the Venture. For he has nothing in the World to truſt to, but Miracles: The *Gratitude*, *Faith*, *Good Nature*, and *Pure Integrity* of the *Party*.

SECT. XXVIII.

Whether may be better Tolerated in This Kingdom, The Presbyterians, *or the* Independents; *in Respect of their* PRINCIPLES, *and* Ordinary PROCEEDINGS.

Debated, First, With Relation to his Majesties PERSON, *and* AUTHORITY.

Indep. THe Government of *England* is *Monarchique*; but so attemper'd with *Legal Provisions* for the *Comfort*, and *Benefit* of the *People*, that every *Englishman* has his *Interest* in the Preservation of the *Law*; as That which Intitles him to the Free Enjoyment of his *Life* and *Fortune*: So that we are to frame our Discourse with a Regard to His *Majesties PERSON*, and *Royal AUTHORITY*; The *Foundation*, and *Execution* of the *LAW*; The *Rights*, and *Just Liberties* of the *PEOPLE*; Utterly excluding from the Limits of Our *Toleration*, all *Power* or *Pretense* whatsoever, that shall presume to Usurp upon any

any of These Particulars. Now to begin with the *First*.

What do you find in the *Independent Way*, that may endanger his Majesty, either in his *Person*, or in his *Prerogative*?

Presb. **The Princes of** *Germany* **would Answer you, that your Proceedings are** *Sanguinary*, **and** *Violent*: **not only against your** *Actual Opposers*, **but against the very Ordinance of** *Magistracy it self*.

Indep. What are the Furies of the *Anabaptists* to Us, that have Declared against them, as well as You? But if you can fasten upon those of the *Congregational* Way, any *Antimonarchical Opinions*, or *Practises*, which are either wrap't up in the Bowels of That Profession, or naturally Issuing from thence: and make good your Assertion, by proving what you say, to have been the Formal Act of any *One* of our Churches by it *self*, or *More* of them in *Combination*, I will never open my Mouth after it, in a Plea for the *Independents*.

Presb. **It were a hard matter indeed to fasten any thing upon the** *Principles* **of a** *Party*, **that professes to have** *no Principles*, **but still refers it self to the Guidance of a** *Further Light*.

Indep. And yet you can *blame* us for our *Principles*, though by your own Confession, you know not What they are. Now for the *Reserve* of Acting according to a *Further Light*; It is express, in the Ordinary Form of our *Church Covenant*, that *it is to be reach'd unto us out of the Word*; which most assuredly will not lead us into any Evil.

If this be all you have to say against the *Independents*, I would gladly hear what Defence you are able to make for the *Presbyterians*: Either *Simply*, and in *Themselves*; or else *Comparatively* with any other sort of People. Nay, I should not much care if you took the *Jesuits* Themselves for your *Foil*.

Presb. **Pow can you say This?** Considering, [*that Thundring of* **Excommunication**, **which has sounded in all Ages, since the beginning of the** *Papal Reign*, **against** *Kings, Emperours, &c.* *And These Practises Justified by their* **Decretals**, *and* **Canons**; **Divines** *of greatest Authority, and some of their* **Councils**: *Ascribing to the* **Pope** *a Power of* **Deposing Princes** *that are* **Heretical**, *or* **Favourers** *of* **Heretiques**. *The* **Jesuits** *Doctrine of* KING-KILLING **hath made them Odious, &c.**

Disc of Relig. Part 1. p 3.

Ibid. p. 4.

Indep.

Indep. Do you tell us of *PAPAL-EXCOMMUNICATIONS*, juſtified by *Canons, Divines, Councils*; *DEPOSING* of *Kings* for *Hereſie*; and the *Jeſuits Doctrine* of *KING-KILLING, &c?* The *Diſciple* ſhould ſpeak Reverently of his *Maſter*: for I aſſure you, a *Jeſuits* Cloak ſits exceedingly well upon the Shoulders of a *Presbyterian*.

To Diſcipline, *muſt all the States within the Realm be Subject, as well the* Rulers, *as the* Ruled. (According to the *Diſcipline* of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, Printed in *London*, 1647. *Scotch* Diſcipline, p. 59.

The Perſon *of the* Magiſtrate *ought to be Subject to the* Kirk, Spiritually, *and in ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT: Submitting himſelf to the* Diſcipline *of the* Kirk, *if he Tranſgreſs in Matters of* Conſcience, *and* Religion. *Beza, Buchanan,* (and in truth, the whole Brotherhood) are for the *Excommunication* of *Princes*. So that there's *Presbyterial EXCOMMUNICATION* you ſee, as well as *Papal*. Ibid. p. 78. P. 79.

And in Caſe of *Superſtition*, and *Idolatry*, the *Presbyter* can *DEPOSE* too, as well as the *Pope*, in Caſe of *Hereſie*. Was not the *Queen-Regent* in *Scotland* (1559.) Depoſed, upon the Encourage-

ment, and with the Approbation of *Willock*, *Knox*, and their Fellows? As *not doing her Duty to the Subjects*; *and as a vehement Mainteiner of Superstition, and Idolatry?* Did not the *Commissioners* of the *Kirk* (in 1596.) threaten an Open *Protestation* against *King James*, and *his Council*, in Case of either *Pardoning*, or *Restoring* the *Popish Lords* that were at that time under *Banishment?*

Hist. of Reform. Printed 1644. p. 195. *Spotsw.* Hist. p. 418

As to the *Jesuits Doctrine* of *KING-KILLING*; We are able not only to *Match*, but to *Out-doe* it, out of the *School* of the *Consistory*. There is no doubt but the *Jesuits* are Guilty of Delivering *Doctrine* that naturally leads to *King-Killing Conclusions*. But do ye find that ever they said in plain Terms; *It is Lawful for Subjects to take up Arms against their Sovereign, in Case of Religion; Or that ever they Publiquely Applauded the Murther of a Prince, after the Fact was Committed?* Certainly, in this Particular, the *Consistorium Copy* goes beyond the *Papal Original*.

Upon a dangerous Uproar that was raised by the *Ministers*, in *Edinburgh*, (1596.) The King by Proclamation, discharged all *Judicatories* from Sitting there. Whereupon the *Ministers* prest

Ibid. p. 431.

a

a Bond of Association, upon the *Noblemen*, and *Barons*; and sent a Letter (drawn by *Robert Bruce*, and *Walter Balcanquel*) to the Lord *Hamilton* to *Head* them: For *by the Motion of God's Spirit, and animated by the Word, the People had gone to Arms*, in Defence *of the Church*, &c.

Not to trouble you with a Rabble of Unneceſſary Inſtances: In the *Ninth Section*, there has been ſaid more than enough upon this Subject already. You ſhall now ſee the Veneration they have for the *PERSONS* of *Princes*.

Gibſon, in the Pulpit, denounced that Curſe againſt King *James*, that fell upon *Jeroboam*: that *he ſhould die Childleſs*, and *be the laſt of the Race*. (An. 1585.) which words, by the *Aſſembly*, (with much a do, and after declining the Queſtion, were found to be *Scandalous*. *Spotſw. Hiſt.* pa. 343. Ibid. 367.

David Blake preached, that *all Kings were the Devils Barns*, and *His Majeſty had detected the Treachery of his Heart*. For which he was cited before King and Council, and appeal'd to the *Preſbytery*, who by their *Commiſſioners* moved his Majeſty for *a Surceaſe of the Proceſs*, with a charge, in caſe of refuſal, to Proteſt againſt the Proceedings of the Counſel. Ibid. 419. Ibid. 423

Quasi Pulpita (sayes *Cambden*) *a Regum Authoritate essent Exempta.* As if Pulpits were priviledged from the Authority of Princes.

Ibid. 430. *John Welch*, at the High Church in *Edinburgh*, preached, that *the King was possest with a Devil, and that the People might Rise Lawfully, and take the Sword out of his hand.*

But what is all this, in comparison with the License of the late times here at Home, when the *Two Houses*, and *Assembly* were daily entertained with *Sermons* and *Pamphlets* of this Quality, for which the Authors had their *Thanks*, and *Imprimanturs?* But I shall rather confine my self now, to the *Arbitrary* excesses of the *Scottish Presbytery*, as the *Model* of the *Covenanted* and blessed *Reformation.*

To come now to their *Usurpation* upon the *Civil Power.*

King *James* was surpriz'd at *Ruthuen* (1582.) under pretext of *Religion*, and kept 5 months a Prisoner. This Act was

Ibid. 322. publiquely *justified* by the *Assembly* at *Edinburgh*, as done *for the Preservation of the Kings Person and Religion.*

Ibid. 330. In the Case of *Andrew Melvil:* It was insisted upon, that *Treason* in the *Pulpit*, fell

fell under the Cognition of the *Presbytery*, and that neither *King* nor *Counſel*, *Primâ Inſtantiâ*, ought to meddle with it. But it is a much eaſier matter to find what a Prince may *not* do, (under the Inſpection of a *Presbytery*) then what he *may*.

He muſt not (*a*) receive an *Embaſſader*, nor (*b*) pardon an *Offender*, without the Approbation of the *Kirk*. Nor ſo much as chuſe his own *Guards*; (*c*) *Court-Officers*, or *Counſellers*, nor Iſſue out any *Proclamations* or *Decrees*. They are to direct him (*d*) what *Forfeitures* to take, and how to *diſpoſe* of them: *when* to *Arme*, and *whom* to *Truſt*. If the King has a mind to *Feaſt* an *Embaſſader*, they preſently indict a *Faſt* (*e*); and Curſe the Magiſtrates almoſt to *Excommunication*, for not obſerving it. Nay ſo little Power had King *James* with theſe people, that (*f*) when his Mother was under a Sentence of *Death*, he could not get them ſo much as to *Pray* for her, *That God would Illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and ſave her from the Apparent danger ſhe was in.*

(*a*) Ibid. 324. (*b*) 398. (*c*) 419. (*d*) 405. (*e*) 334. (*f*) 354.

On the other ſide; they claim to themſelves the Power of *Warr*, and *Peace*; of Calling and Diſſolving *Aſſemblies*; and whenſoever they ſhall think fit to ſay, that

the

King's large Declaration, p. 415.

the Good of the Church; *the Glory of God*; *or any Spiritual end is concerned*, They make no Scruple in the World, of *Levying Armes, Men, Monies*; *Seizing of Castles, and Forts*; *Issuing out of Warrants for Members of Parliament.* (a) They impose *Oaths* and *Covenants* against the *King Himself*; (b) Encounter *Proclamations* with *Anti-Protests*; (c) *Rescind Acts of Counsels*, &c. And what's the colour for all this Haughtiness and State? The *Ministers* (forsooth) are *Christs Deputies*; and their *Acts* are *Christ's Ordinances*; whereas *Judges*, *Counsellers*, and *Parliaments* are but the *King's Substitutes*, and their *Laws* only *Humane*.

(a) Ibid. 87.

(b) 98.

(c) Pag. 416.

Presb. **You are not any more to conclude against the** *Presbyterial Government*, **from the Precedent of some** *Factious Assemblies*, **than against the Constitution of** *Parliaments*, **from the Precedent of some** *Seditious Compositions* **and** *Elections*.

Indep. Neither do I charge these Imposing *Usurpations* upon the Confederacy of a *Cabal*, or a *Faction*, but upon the *Original Scope*, and *Mystery* of the *Discipline*; for I find them rooted in the very *Foundation* of their *Policy*.

Their Pragmatical Intermedling in *Civil*

Civil Affairs, and Matters of *State*, is warranted by their *Book of Government*; where it is ſaid, that *The Miniſter handleth* External things, *only for* Conſcience *cauſe*: Now I would fain know That Notion which may not ſome way or other, be made Relative to *Conſcience*. Scotch Diſcipline p. 79.

For *Limiting the Magiſtrate in the Exerciſe of his Power*, they have this Plea; that *though the Miniſters do not EXERCE the Civil Juriſdiction, they TEACH the Magiſtrate how it ſhould be Exerciſed, according to the Word.* So that the *Prince* is put to *Schoole* to the *Maſterſkips* of his *Pariſh*, to learn every *point* and *circumſtance* of his *Duty*. Ibid. p. 79.

Now for the *Abſolute*, and *Boundleſs Juriſdiction* of their *General Aſſemblies*: They tell us, not only that *The Kirk is to appoint Times and Places convenient for their Meeting*; *but that as well* Magiſtrates, *as* Inferiours, *are to be SUBJECT to the JUDGMENT of the ſame*; *in* Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, *without any Reclamations or APPEAL, to any Judge* Civil *or* Eccleſiaſtical. Ibid. p 97.

Is not this a *Dethroning* of *Majeſty*, to ſet *Princes*, and *Peaſants* upon the *ſame Level* in point of *Subjection* to their *Reſolutions* and *Decrees*?

Presb.

Ibid. p. 91. *Presb.* Not at all; For *the Magistrate is to assist, and maintein the Discipline of the Kirk; And punish them Civilly that will not obey the Censure of the same.*

Indep. In truth it is a Goodly Office, you have allotted the *Chief Magistrate*; to set him *Cheek by Jowle* with the *Beadle of the Parish*: You are to *direct* the Punishment, and *He* is to *Execute* it.

But what if he should prove *Refractary*, and *dispute* your *Authority*? In Case of *Contumacy*, *He* is as Liable to *Censure* (you say) as *another person*. And then you have no more to do, but to resort to your ordinary Method of Calling in the *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Gentlemen*, *Burgesses*, and *Commons* to your Assistance against him.

Let me now marque to you, two Passages in your Discipline, that make two Ibid. 61. shrewd discoveries. [*A Minister* (you say) *must not frequent, and commonly haunt the* COURT, *unless either sent by the Kirk, or called upon by Authority for his Counsel, and Judgment in* CIVIL AFFAIRS. And afterwards, you say, Ibid. 44. that, *Ministers may and should assist their Princes, when required, in all things agreeable to the Word; whether it be in* COUN-

COUNSEL, or PARIAMENT, or otherwise. Provided, that through Flattery of Princes, they hurt not the Publique state of the Church.

Whence it appears; *First*, that *simple Presbyters* may do well enough in *Parliaments*, or *Councils*; though *Bishops* are *Excluded*: were it not *Secondly*, for the danger of creating a Kindness betwixt the *King*, and the *Kirk*; which in consequence would frustrate the main Design. For the *Prime end* of this *Church Policy* is the *Overtopping* and *Subjecting* of the *Secular Power*: and it was wisely done to temper the very *Foundation* of it with Principles of *Opposition* to the *Order*, and *well Being* of *Civil Government*.

SECT.

SECT. XXIX.

The Question of Toleration, *betwixt* Presbytery, *and* Independency; *Debated, with regard to the* Foundation, *and* Execution *of the* LAW.

Presb. **What if you had put the Question betwixt a** *Peaceable*, **and** *Obedient* **sort of people, and a Generation of men that cannot live out of** *Contention.*

Indep. The *men of Contention*, I suppose you would have me understand to be the *Independents*. What's the Quarrel to them upon the matter now before us?

Presb. **Only This: that they are Intolerable in any Government. How many Plots have they had upon this Kingdom, since his Majesties Return? There was** *Venner's Rising*; **A** *Conspiracy* **in the** *North*; **Another in** *Ireland.*

Indep, And all this while, you forget the Rebellion in *Scotland*, which was professedly *Presbyterian*; beside that, These

These disorders which you speak of, were nothing at all to the *Independents:* But (one way or other) these Instances are to no purpose without some *Authoritative* Allowance; and Pray'e let us agree upon it, that only the *Conclusions* of the *Kirk*, on the *one* hand, and of the *Church* on the *other*, may be Insisted upon, as the *Acts* of *either Party*.

Presb. **I do not find that the** *Independent* **Churches come to** *any Resolutions at all.*

Indep. You have the less to say then against their *Principles*; and I wish the *Independents* could say the same thing for the *Presbyterians*.

How far, I beseech you, are *Humane Laws Binding?*

Presb. **So far forth as they are agreeable to** *the Word of God.*

Indep. And who shall Determine what *Laws* and *Constitutions* are agreeable to *God's Word?*

Presb. **The Church Lawfully Constitute; which** *all Godly Princes, and Magistrates ought to hear, and to obey their voice, and reverence the Majesty of the Son of God speaking in them.* ad. Book of Disc. P. 92.

Indep. I need not ask what Church that is; For *John Morellius* was *Excommunicate,*

municate, for mainteyning in a certain Treatise, That *TELL THE CHURCH*, did not belong to the *Consistory*, and the *Book was burnt*. But to the Poynt.

If *the Word of God* be the *Rule* for *Humane Laws*; and the *Presbytery*, the sole Expounders of the Word of God; the *Law* of the *Nation* is at the Mercy of the *Kirk* already: for 'tis but saying, that *This or That Law is not Agreeable to the Word of God*, and there's an end on't.

2d. Book of Disc. p. 86. *Presb. The Kirk has Power to Abrogate and Abolish all Statutes, and Ordinances concerning* Ecclesiastical *Matters, that are found* noysome, *and* unprofitable, *and agree not with the* Time, *or are* abused *by the People.*

Indep. If the *Kirk* has *This Power*, the *Pope Himself* pretends to nothing *beyond* it. Are not your *Determinations* as *peremptory*; and your *Orders* as *Imperious*? But I am speaking here, as to the *Latitude* of your Pretended *Jurisdiction*. *You may abrogate All Statutes* (you say) *CONCERNING Ecclesiastical Matters.* And I say, on the other side, that you may upon that Ground, abrogate all the Statutes in the Christian

Chriſtian World: for I defie the whole race of Mankind, to ſhew me any one Law extant, or the very ſuppoſition of a Law poſſible, which may not ſome way or other, be ſaid to *CONCERN Eccleſiaſtical Matters.*

Presb. **You take no notice, how this Power is clogg'd with** *Limitations.* **If they be found** *Unprofitable, Unſeaſonable,* **or to be** *abuſed by the People.*

Indep. Very good: And if the *Kirk* ſhall think fit to find them ſo or ſo; Pray'e *What Remedy?* But their own *Avowed Actions*, and *Declarations*, are the Beſt *Comments* upon their own *Principles.*

Under King *James* in *Scotland*, nothing was more ordinary, then over-Ruling *Acts* of *Parliament* by the *Acts* of the *Aſſembly:* Did they not erect *a Counſel of the Church* in *Edenborough*, 1596. and take upon them to *Convene*, *Examine*, and *Cenſure* at pleaſure ſuch as they ſuſpected to hold any Correſpondence with certein *Excommunicate Lords?* did they not alſo appoint to meet in *Armes*, at the Tryal of them? Spotſw. Hiſt. p. 418. Ib. p. 398

Nor did they think it enough, to *Reſcind*, or *ſuperſede Acts* of *Parliament* and *Generall Aſſemblies*: but *People muſt* Kings large Declaration, p. 416.

be Qu ſtion'd too for yielding Obedience to Acts of Parliament, and of General Counſels under Colour of Unjuſt Laws. Wee'l cloſe this particular with the Judgment of the *Commiſſioners* of the *General Aſſembly* of *Scotland*, of *May* 5. 1648.

Declar. of the Commiſſion. p 55. and 56.

The Authority of Parliament *is one thing*; *an* Act of Parliament *another thing. We do ſtill acknowledg their* Authority, *when we obey not This or That Act. And whatſoever be the* TREASON *of Impugning the* Authority of PARLIAMENT, *It can be no* Treaſon *to obey GOD rather then* MAN: *Neither did the General Aſſembly of* Glaſgow, 1638. *and ſuch as were active for the Covenant at That time, commit any* Treaſon, *when they Impugned* Epiſcopacy, *and* Perth Articles, *although ratify'd, and ſtrengthen'd by Acts of* PARLIAMENT, *and ſtanding* LAWS *then Unrepealed.*

Fresb. When we have once gotten Power into our hands, we are all too apt to abuſe it. But I cannot yet perſwade my ſelf that the Root of theſe *Practiſes* is to be found in their *Principles.* Their Books of *Diſcipline* are *Publick*: and no Government would ever entertein it, if there were ſuch danger in it.

Indep. How

Indep. How was the *Covenant* entertein'd? or who would have dream'd of any harm in a League for the *Preſervation and Defence of the King's Majeſtie's Perſon and Authority?* And yet the *Presbyterian Interpretation*, and *Salvo* of Subordinating his Majeſties SAFETY and PRESERVATION, to the *Defence of the TRUE RELIGION* (immediately following) and the *Kirks* aſſuming to Themſelves the Judgment of that Religion, brought both *King* and *Church* to *Deſtruction*. Nor can you chooſe but Obſerve the *Holy Diſcipline*, and *Covenant*, to be both of a *Stile*, and both of a *Deſign*: Their Claim *concerning Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, hooks in all *Laws*; and *In the Defence of the true Religion*, They uſurp an Authority over all *Magiſtrates*. This Diſcipline (at the beſt) is but a Worm at the Root of Civil Government: Whereſoever it comes, the Secular Power hangs the head, and droops upon it, and never thrives after. But to *Sovereign Princes*, a man might ſay of it, as God ſaid to *Adam*, of the *Apple*: *In the day you eat thereof, you ſhall dye the death.*

Now as it is manifeſtly deſtructive of

Law in the very *Foundations* of it, to carry an Appeal from all *Temporal Governours* and *Constitutions*, to the Scepter and Sentence of *Christ*, sitting upon his TRIBUNAL in the PRESBYTERY (the Language of *Beza* himself) so likewise have they their Preparatory Artifices for Obstructing the *Execution* of Law, and for the *Weakening*, and *Distracting* of a Government before they enter upon the Great Work of *Dissolving* it. And this is effected by the *Trojan Horse* (as one calls it) of their *Excommunication*, that carries all the Instruments and Engines of Publique Ruine, and Confusion in the belly of it.

By Virtue of this Device, they do not only impose upon all Ministers, and Courts of Justice; but they may, when they please (as *Hooker* observes) send out their *Writs of Surcease*; and fetch in the whole Business of *Westminster-Hall*, to the Bar of the *Consistory*. Or at the fairest, (according to *Beza*'s Distinction) if they allow the *Civil Judg* to try the *Fact* (as *mere Civile*) yet *de Jure Controverso, Ecclesiasticum Synedrium constat Respondisse*: The *Church* was to determine in matter of *Law*, and the *Civil Magistrate* after That, to pronounce *Sentence*, according to

That

That Deciſion. Briefly, *Beza* gives the *Presbytery* the ſame Power under the *Goſpel*, which was Exerciſed by the *Synagogue* under the *Law.* But now to the Point of your *Excommunication*; and to ſhew you in what manner it is apply'd, to hinder the *Execution* of *Law*; and *to obſtruct Civil Juſtice.*

By One Clauſe of your Diſcipline, You may *Abrogate* what Laws you pleaſe, concerning *Eccleſiaſtical Matters*: And by Another; The Miniſter is Authorized to handle *External* things, for *Conſcience* Cauſe: So that your *Authority* is without Controul in *Eccleſiaſtical Matters*; and ſo is your *Liberty* of handling *Civil Matters* as *Eccleſiaſtical.* Upon which Bottom was founded an Aſſertion not long ſince maintained at the *Savoy*, i. e. *That the Command of a moſt Lawful Act is ſinful, if That Act commanded may prove to any One a Sin per Accidens.* Now if the *Kirk* ſhall think fit to *Abrogate* a Law (as nothing more frequent) whoever ſhall preſume to *Execute* That Law, is ſure to be *Excommunicate*: And the *Supreme Magiſtrate* himſelf is no leſs lyable to *Church Cenſure*, for not *Executing* That Sentence, then the *Inferior Magiſtrate* was for his *Original Diſobedience.*

Spotsw. Hist. P. 345.

The Bishop of St. *Andrews* (in 1586.) was *Excommunicate* for Advising King *James* to a Declaration against Certein Fugitive Ministers that were denounced Rebels; and Contriving the Statutes of (1584.) touching *The Kings Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes*. *Knox* is for *Excommunication* in all Crimes, that are *Capital* by the Law of God; and in effect, for the *Churches* Tryal of the very *Fact*. It was not for nothing that the *Two Houses* held the *Assembly* so long in Play, upon this Point; and in Despight of all Importunities to the Contrary, kept the staffe still in their own Hands; and reserved to Themselves the *Ultimate Appeal*, in Cases of *Excommunication*.

Presb. **Was it not rather the Work of the** *Independents*? **Who (to say the Truth) were as much against any Settlement at all as against That: And against the very Convening of the Assembly it self.**

Indep. And they had done the State a good Office, if they had totally hindred it. But this is beside our Business. We have said enough as to the Dangerous Influence of *Presbytery*, upon the Security of his *Majesty* and the *Law*. It remains now to be considered, with a respect to the *Rights*, and *Liberties* of the *People*. SECT.

SECT. XXX.

The Question of Toleration, *betwixt* Presbytery, *and* Independency, Debated, *with a Regard to the* Rights, Liberties, *and* Advantages *of the* PEOPLE.

Indep. YOU see how it is with *Kings*, *Parliaments*, and *Laws*, under the Dominion of *Presbytery*. We are now to look into the Condition of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Commonalty*, and of the *Presbyterial Clergy* it self, under that Discipline: Which will best appear, by a view of the Powers which the *Presbytery* claims, and Exercises. But let me Commend One Note to you as Previous to that Examination. This Party has constantly screw'd it self into the World, by an *Oath* of *Mutual Defence*: Which *Oath* they apply as well to the Ruine and Extirpation of their Opponents, as to their own Preservation; by making it a Test of good Affection to That Interest; and Excluding all People whatsoever from any Office, or Benefit Ecclesiastical, or Civil, without subscribing it. You cannot deny but this *Oath* in the very Institution of it, is a Violence both

upon *Law*, and *Conscience*; and Consequently, that the Imposition falls heavieſt upon thoſe that make an Honourable, and Religious Scruple of their Actions. So that here is already expoſed the moſt Conſiderable part of the Nation, for the Subject of their Diſpleaſure; with their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes* at *Mercy*; as you will find upon a further Conſideration of their Uſurped *Authority*, and *Juriſdiction*.

Presb. **Leave this way of General Diſcourſe, and come to Particular Inſtances. Where is it, that you find This Exorbitant Power that you talk of?**

Indep. In the very *Declaration of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly of Scotland*, 1648. page 53. [*The Duties of the Second Table as well as of the Firſt: As namely, the Duties between* King, *and* Subject; Parents, *and* Children; Husbands, *and* Wives; Maſters, *and* Servants, *and the Like; being conteined in, and to be taught and cleared from the Word of God, are in That Reſpect, and ſo far as concerneth the Point of Conſcience, a Subject of Miniſterial Doctrine, and in Difficult Caſes, a Subject of Cognizance and Judgment to the Aſſembly of the Kirk.* The Diſpute here was about the *Aſſemblies Authority*,

thority, in the Question of *War* or *Peace*.

Is not This at one Blow to destroy the Order of all Relations, *Political*, *Natural*, and *Moral*? *Princes* must not presume to make *War* or *Peace*; To *Enact* Laws, or *Abrogate*; To *Spare* or *Punish*, without *Ecclesiastical Licence*. The *Subject* must go to the *Masters of the Parish*, to know whether, he shall *Obey Authority*, or *Resist* it. And after the same manner it fares with *Parents*, and *Children*; *Husbands*, and *Wives*; *Masters*, and *Servants*; So that there is not any Person, either Publique, or Private; Or any Action, or Office, of Regard to *Community*, *Family*, or *Alliance*, that scapes their Pragmatical *Scrutiny*, and *Inspection*.

Presb. **So far as these Duties are matter of** *Conscience*, **there is no Doubt, but they are of** *Ecclesiastical Cognisance*; **and further then so, they make no Pretension.**

Indep. But you must give me leave to tell you then, that their Consciences are larger then other Peoples. *The Old Nonconformist* (as an Expedient for the settling *Ecclesiastical Affairs* (Page 43.) proposes the setting up of *Work-Houses* for the *Poor*; the Carrying on of the *Fishing Trade*;

Trade; The taking off of *Protections*; that none may be Imprison'd but according to *Law*: and the Abatement of *Taxes*. The Assembly at *Glasgow* 1638. passed an Act concerning *Salmon Fishing*, and another about *Salt-Pans*. And all This I Warrant ye, *so far as they concerned Point of Conscience*. But if you would see, what the *Consistory* calls *Conscience*, in the full Extent, we must repair for satisfaction, to their *Direction*, and *Practises* in the matter of *Conscience*, and *Excommunication*.

The Kirk proceeds to *Excommunication* in all *Capital Crimes*, *where the Offender that deserv'd to dye, is suffer'd to live*. And in Cases of *Fornication*, *Drunkenness*, *Swearing*, *Cursing*, *Sabbath-Breaking*, *Wanton Words*, *Contempt of the Orders of the Church*; *Oppression of the Poor*; *Deceipt in Buying and Selling*, *by wrong Mete and Measure*.

Presb. **Well; and what hurt's in all this?**

Indep. None at all: But let me proceed. They Censure also *Excess* in *Apparel*, *Meat*, or *Drink*, *UNCOMELY GESTURES*; *Contentiousness*, *without reasonable Cause*; *Chiding*, *Brawling*, *VAIN-*

VAIN WORDS; *Every fault that tendeth to the Hurt of a Man's Neighbour, or to the Hindrance of the Glory of God*: Whether by *Force*, or *Fraud*; *Word*, or *Deed*; *Manifeſtly*, or *Secretly*; *Purpoſely*, or *Ignorantly*: And the Judgment of the whole is left to the Diſcretion of the Church. So that your very *Thoughts* are not free. [*The Spiritual Ruler* (ſays the Book of Diſcipline) *Judgeth Both* Inward Affections, *and External Actions in reſpect of Conſcience, by the Word of God.* Upon which ground they take upon them to Cenſure the very *SUSPICION of Avarice*, and *Pride*: *Superfluity* or *Riotouſneſs*, in *Chear* or *Rayment*. But upon *Dancers*, *Robin Hoods*, and *all Games that brings Loſs*, they have no mercy. Theſe particulars are extracted to a ſyllable out of the moſt Authentical Records they have to ſhew for the Warrant of the *Scottiſh Diſcipline* - (Our Bleſſed Model.) Page. 79.

But many People perchance will make it a matter of nothing to be *Excommunicate* upon a Suppoſition that the *Anathema* is the uttermoſt ſpite of the *Cenſure*. They never dream of *Cartings*, *Jogges*, *Pillories*, *Shaving their Beards*, and *Cutting half the Hair of their Heads*. *Baniſhments*, *Pecuniary Mulcts*, *Cloſe Impriſon-* Presbytery Diſplay'd. p. 4.

prisonments, and all sorts of Studied Defamations.

Ibid. p. 39. Nay, *If any man refuse to Subscribe their Confession of Faith, Rule of Government, and Manner of Worship, He is forthwith Excommunicate; and upon Remonstrance of a Commissioner from the Presbytery to the Civil Judg, a Warrant granted, commanding him to Conform by a Day Certain, or to be* OUTLAWED. *If he Conform not within that time, his* ESTATE MOVEABLE *is* FORFEITED; *and if not within a Year and a Day, he Loses his whole* REVENUE *for his Life. After* This, *at the further Instance of the Churches Commissioner, Out go* Letters of Caption, *for Apprehending of his Person, and Committing him as a Rebel. And if he be not to be found; These are follow'd with* Letters of Inter-Communing, *forbidding all men either Personally to Confer with him, or by Letter, or interposed Person to Correspond with him, upon Pein of the* Inter-Communers *being Judged and Reputed a* Rebel *of the same Guiltiness.*

Book of Discipline. p. 56. As to the *General Rule* of *Excommunication; no Person* (Wife and Family excepted) *is to have any Communication with the Excommunicate; be it in Eating or Drink-*

Drinking; *Buying or Selling*; *Tea in Salting or Talking with Him*: *Unless at Commandment or License of the Ministry for his Conversion. His Children Begotten and Born after That Sentence not to be admitted to Baptism, till of Age to require it*; *Unless the Mother or some special Friends, Members of the Kirk, Offer and Present the Child, Damning the Iniquity and Contempt of the Impenitent.* There are that do not allow *Husbands* to accompany with their *Wives* in the State of *Excommunication.* Ibid. P. 57. *Spotsw. Hist.* P. 436.

Now upon what has been deliver'd, Let any Man Consider the *Unchristian Rigor* of This *Disciplinary Inquisition*; not only in the Actual Tyranny of it, but in the more Miserable Consequences.

Unchristian Rigor.

First as it *Scandalizes* the *Gospel*, and *makes the Death of Christ seem to be no Effect*, by Imposing upon Us such Conditions of Salvation, as if the Blessed Angels should descend, and Indue Humane shapes, they were not able to perform. For it is not what Christ and his Apostles say, that will do a Man's business here, without the *Urim* and *Thummim* of the *Parochial Session*, and the Defects of the *Written Word*, are to be supplyed by *Unwritten Traditions* out of the Repository of the *Pres-*

Presbyterial Cabale. In this Case it is that we are to have recourse to the Apostles Precept; of *Standing fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made Us Free, and not to be intangled again in the Yoke of Bondage.* (A Yoke much more intolerable then That of the Law;) For the *Jews* had their Lesson before their Eyes, and knew what they were to do. But here, it matters not what either *Scripture* or *Conscience* says, without the subsequent Concurrence of the *Presbytery:* to whose Supreme, and Infallible Judgment (and not to our own) We are to stand or fall either to Heaven, or Hell.

The *Rigor* of this *Discipline* is most *Un-Christian* also, as *it Crucifies Weak Consciences with Needless, Infinite,* and *Incurable Scruples*; with *Scruples* that Haunt, Dog, and Torment us in the most *Necessary, and Ordinary Actions of Humane Life.* At the *Church*; at the *Table*; at the *Market*; at *Home,* and *Abroad.* At all *Times,* in all *Places,* and upon all *Occasions*, in our *Words, Thoughts,* and *Deeds.*

Excess in Eating censurable.

As to *Excess in Eating.* It is *Censurable* either in the *Quantity*, or in the *Quality.* So that in the *first* place the *Eldership* is to provide One Common Gage for the Stomachs

Stomachs of the whole Pariſh, for fear of a Mouthful too much. And in the *ſecond* Place, it is made a matter of *Salvation*, or *Damnation*, whether a Man Eats *Beef*, or *Veniſon*.

And ſo, for *Exceſs* in *APPAREL*. One Inch more, then to Cover your ſhame, is a *Superfluity*; and One Peny more, in the Pound, then the *Allowance* of the *Presbytery*, is made as much as a Man's Soul is worth. Apparel.

It is the ſame thing for *VAIN WORDS*. A Nurſe ſhall not dare to ſtill her Child but with a Pſalm; and you muſt not preſume ſo much as to ask *What a Clock it is*, without a *Text*; to prove that the Queſtion tends to *Edification*. Vain words.

But the hardeſt Caſe of all is, That of *SUSPICION*. The very *Suſpicion* of *Avarice*, or *Pride*, You ſay, makes a Man lyable to Cenſure. This, methinks, is very ſevere, for a Man to be delivered over to *Sathan*, becauſe the Brotherhood *Suſpects* him to be *Proud*, or *Covetous*; whether he be ſo, or no. Suſpicion of Pride.

Presb. 'Tis to be preſumed, that the Church will proceed according to a Judgment of *Charity*, and *Diſcretion*.

Indep. Did not the *Kirk Excommuni-*

cate

cate the *whole Multitude* for a *Robin-Hood?* Nay at *St. Johnstons*, they cursed not only the *Men*, that should take part with the King, but the very *Horses*, and *Spears*. (Here's an *Excommunication* by way of *Advance*) Upon the Action of Duke *Hamilton* in 1648. the whole Party were *Excommunicate* (even *after* the Defeat: (as appears by the *Scotch Act for Renewing the Covenant.*)

In some Cases again, They are as *Tender* and *Cautelous*. *Andrew Hunter* (a Prime stickler for the Discipline) attended *Bothwel* as his Chaplain, in a Rebellion, 1593. But King *James* could not prevail with the Assembly to *Excommunicate* Him for it; (though no Doubt was made of the Fact) Nay, on the Contrary, They would not be quiet, till they had got *Bothwell's* Pardon. And upon *Gowry's* attempt (in the Year 1600.) His Majesty required the Ministers of *Edenburgh* to give God thanks in their Churches for his Deliverance, and they refused it.

Spotsw. History. P. 395.

Ibid. 460.

But to the Point we were upon. As nothing can be more Contrary to the *Temper* and *Dictate* of the *Holy Gospel* then the Claim of this *Arbitrary* and *Censorious Jurisdiction*: It seems to me to stand in an equal Degree of Opposition to the

Rules

Rules of *Society*, *Humanity*, and *Reason*.

The KING is upon his good Behaviour to the *Elders*, and *Deacons* (*who are Judges of others manners*) as well as the Meanest man in the Parish. He is indeed (as is observ'd by the Author of *Presbytery Display'd*) the *Chief Member* of the *General Assembly*; but they allow him no Negative Voice; and if he has the Fortune to be *Out-Voted*, he must cause the Sentence to be *Executed*, whatever it be, under Pein of *Censure*, and Consequently of *Deprivation*. Book of Discipline. p. 61

Of *Acts of Parliament*, and *Inferiour Magistrates*, enough is spoken already.

As to the State of the NOBILITY, and GENTRY, they are either *Conformists* to the Government, or *Dissenters*; and must take their Lot in it, to be either *Sovereigns*, or *Slaves*: (for that's the distribution of it.) Upon the Mayn These *Domini Dominantium* Challenge by their Commission to be *no Respecters of Persons*; and so lay upon all Sorts, and Conditions of Men in General at their good Pleasure certein *Common Impositions*, Importing their *Servility*, and *Subjection*, and whose *Livery* they wear.

I must not omit one Peculiar Obligation, the *Nobility*, and *Gentry* have to these their Gracious Masters: Which is the Easing them of their *Patronages*, and *Presentations to Benefices*, because *These things flowed from the Pope, and the Corruption of the Canon Law only, and are Contrary to the Word of God, and the Peoples Liberty of Electing their own Ministers.* [For (say They) *this is altogether to be avoided, that any man be violently Intruded, or Thrust in upon any Congregation. But this Liberty, with all Care, must be reserved to every several Church, to have their Votes, and Suffrages in Election of their Ministers.*

Book of Discipl. p. 97.

Book of Discipl. p. 29.

Observe now, I beseech you, the *Peoples Liberty*, in this Choice. *Violent Intrusion we call it not, when the Counsel of the Church, in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the People, offereth unto them a sufficient Man, to Instruct them. If his Doctrine be found wholesome, and able to Instruct the Simple, and if the Church justly can reprehend nothing in his Life, Doctrine, nor Utterance, then we judg the Church unreasonable, if they refuse him, whom the Church did offer; and they should be compelled by the Censure of the Counsel, and Church, to receive the Person appointed.* Here's *Liberty* upon *Compulsion*; and it is

Ibid. p. 29.

most

moſt Palpable, that your whole Deſign is the Intereſt of a Party.

Now to the men of Ordinary *BUSINESS*, and *TRAFFICK*. The *Presbytery* will put an end to all their Diſputes, about *Free Trade*, *Priviledges*, and matter of *Commerce*, with a wet Finger. Did they not by an *Act of Aſſembly at Dundy* 1592. Prohibit the *Scots Trading* with any of the King of *Spains* Dominions, under Pein of *Excommunication*? And his Majeſty refuſing to comply with them, (at the Inſtance of the *Spaniſh Merchants*) Did they not proceed to *Cenſure* the *Merchants*? So that there ſhall be no *Trading*, but where they pleaſe: And no *Markets* neither but upon their good liking too. Did they not by their Proper Authority Diſcharge the *Munday-Market* in *Edinburgh*? But the *Shoo-makers* indeed were too hard for the *Elders* this bout, and told them plainly, they would turn out all their *Miniſters* by Head and Shoulders firſt, before they parted with their *Market*. Upon which Menace they were quiet. *Spaſſw. Hiſt. pa. 393.* *Ibid. 394.*

The Author of *Presbytery Diſplay'd*, gives you ſome Inſtances of the *Presbyteries Interpoſal*, in Actions of *Debt*, and menacing *Landlords*, and *Creditors*, with *P. 10.*

Excommunication, unless they laid down the *Process*: Upon Pretense Forsooth, that though it was in a *Civil Cause*, it had yet a *Spiritual Prospect*: *Withdrew People from their Callings, and Hindred the Progress of the Gospel.*

And this is no more, then any man will reasonably Expect, that looks but with half an eye upon the very *Frame*, and *Provision* of the *Discipline*. Is not he a mad man, that thinks to recover a Debt at *Common Law*, against any Member, or Members Friend of the *Presbytery*, when 'tis but flying to the Canon of the *Consistory*, to silence the Dispute, and telling Him, that *He is Contentious without a Reasonable Cause?* Cannot the *Church* put an End to Strife among Brethren, as well as the *Civil Magistrate?* It is a matter of Evil Example, and *tends to the Hurt of our Neighbour.* If the Creditor be Obstinate, and will not take good Counsel, Out flyes an *Excommunication* against Him, *for refusing to obey the Orders of the Church.*

I would now fain understand, what it is that sets so many of the MINISTERS a Gog upon this Platform; For certeinly, They are of all Mortals the most Contemptible: (the *Junto*, and some few of the *Select Ones Excepted.*) Their

Their *Diſcipline* Divides the *Church Patrimony into four Parts One* for the *Paſtor*; *Another* for the *Elders*, *Deacons*, and other *Kirk-Officers*; their *Doctors*, and *Schools*. *A Third* for *Charitable Uſes*: and *the Reſt* for *Repairing of Churches*, and other Incidental Charges. So that the *Clergy* is ſtrip'd already of 3. *Parts* of 4 of their *Legal Maintenance*, Book of Diſc. p. 98.

And then for the poor Pittance that is left; ſo much as will keep Life and Soul together, they are allow'd in *Meal*, and *Maulr*; and totally dependent upon the Mercy of the Church for the reſt. And yet for this pittiful ſtipend, *They are to be call'd to Accompt how they ſpend it*; *and their Wives*, *and Children*, *to be thrown at laſt upon the Charge of the Pariſh*. In their *Preaching*, they are Limited by the *Direction*, and *Deſign* of their *Leaders*: Only *Tenants at Will* in their *Cures*; and lyable to be *Removed*, *Suſpended*, or *Depoſed* at Pleaſure. This *Arbitrary Dominion*, together with the *Shameful Condition* of their *Bondage*, has proved ſo great a Diſcouragement to the *Miniſtry*, that they have found themſelves forc'd to *Preſs Miniſters* into the Service, as they would do *Souldiers*. And where they find men of Abilities for their Purpoſe, The *Civil Magiſtrate* Book of Diſcipl. p. 34. Ibid. 61. Ibid. p. 35

Ibid. P. 32. is call'd upon, to *compel them to the Ministry.*
Ibid. p. 44. Nay rather than fail, *the Nobility and Gentry must bring up their Children, to the Service, and good Liking of the Kirk, under Pein of Church-Censure.*

A Jurisdiction exercised according to the Latitude of This Discipline, One would think, might satisfie any Reasonable sort of People. But alas! If they do not as much Exceed their *own Bounds*, in their *Practise*, as they exceed all *other Models* in their *Pretensions*, they reckon it as good as nothing. They can *Cite People* out of a *Remote Jurisdiction. Deprive whole Presbyterys for Dissent.* (Kings Declaration, page 314) Call *Nine Presbyters* of *Fifty, a General Assembly.* (Spotswood, p. 490.) *Demolish Churches* (304.) and *Dispose of the Patrimony* (311.) and what not?

More needs not be said, as to the Empire They Exercise over *King, Lords,* and *Commons,* severally, and in divers Respects: We come now to their Usurpations upon the Common *Rights*, and *Priviledges* of *Mankind.*

CHIDING (as I told you) they have drawn within the Compass of *Ecclesiastical Censure.* So that *Masters* shall not Reprove their *Servants*, nor *Parents* their

their *Children*; without leave of the *Elderſhip*, (to the utter Diſſolution of the *Order* and *Diſcipline* of *Private Families*.) Nay, they have taken in BRAWLING too, and made every *Billingſgate Quarrel*, every Brabble betwixt a Butter-Whore and an Oyſterwench, a Subject of *Conſiſtorial Cognizance*.

Under the Cenſure of LEWD CUSTOMS are Comprized all ſorts of *Publique Sports*, *Exerciſes*, and *Recreations*, that have been long in Uſe; upon the Worſhipful Pretenſe (forſooth) that they had their Original from the times of *Paganiſm*, or *Popery*: As *Comedies*, *Interludes*, *Wraſtlings*, *Foot-Ball-Play*, *May-Games*, *Whitſon-ales*, *Morrice-Dances*, *Bear-baitings*; Nay the Poor *Roſemary*, *and Bayes*, *and Chriſtmas-Pye*, is made an *Abomination*.

Presb. **And are not the** *Independents* **as much againſt theſe Fooleries as the** *Presbyterians*?

Indep. No, we take Our own Freedom, to forbear what we diſlike our ſelves; and allow other People their Liberty, to Practiſe what pleaſes them. But to proceed.

All GAMES *that bring* LOSS are Prohibited, *Tennis*, *Bowles*, *Billiards*;

Not so much as a Game at *Stool-Ball* for a *Tansy*, or a *Cross and Pyle* for the odd Penny of a Reckoning, upon Pein of *Damnation.*

———*Shortly, Boys shall not Play*
At Span-Counter, or Blow-Point, but shall Pay
Toll to some Presbyter.———

What do you think now of UNCOMELY GESTURES? That *a man shall be given to the Devil*, for *Lolling* upon his *Elbow*, or setting on his *Back-side*, in the Presence of the *Deacon* of the Parish.

And the Like for *Excess* in EATING, or APPAREL. Every Bit we put into our Mouths, and every Rag we put upon our Backs, becomes a Snare to Us. It may be either too *much*, or too *costly*: and What Reformation soever the Kirk shall think fit to Order, either in our *Clothes*, or *Dyet*, must be observ'd, with the same Degree of *Submission*, and *Obedience*, as if the matter in Question were *an Article of our Creed.*

Their Censure of VAIN WORDS is yet more Rigorous, and reaches for ought we know, to the honestest Endearments, and Familiarities of Friendship, and Conversation, even to the Exclusion of Com-

mon

mon Decency, and Civility. But let Our *Words* be what they will, We are ſtill dependent upon the good Pleaſure of the *Elderſhip*, whether they will pronounce them *Vain*, or *Edifying*.

But why ſhould a man expect to ſcape for WORDS, where THOUGHT it ſelf is Cenſurable? SUSPICION of *Avarice*, *Pride*, &c. (as you have heard) He that ſues to recover a Debt, ſhall be *ſuſpected of Avarice*. He that refuſes to Crouch like the Aſſe under the Burthen, ſhall be *ſuſpected of Pride*. And for a *Man and a Woman to be only ſeen together*, ſhall be ground enough for a *ſuſpicion* of *Incontinency*. Nay, they ſhall be *Cited*, *Interrogated*, *Cloſe-Committed*, and put to *Bread and Water* upon it; and compell'd to *Swear in Propriam Turpitudinem*. After all This, and that no *Proof* appears, and that they purge themſelves upon *Oath*: It ſhall be yet *Enacted by the Aſſembly*, *that if ever Theſe two ſhall be ſeen again in Company together, unleſs at Church, or Market, they ſhall be taken* pro Confeſſo *for Guilty*. Presb. Diſplay'd. p. 9.

A *whole Volume* (ſays the Author of *Presbytery Diſplay'd*) *might be written of Young Women by theſe Courſes, diſgraced, and Defamed: Of many Families divided, and ſcatter'd; whereas before there was never*

ver any jealousie betwixt the Man and the Wife.

Presb. These are Objections rather of *Passion*, and *Extravagance*, then of *Argument.*

Indep. They are no other then such *Conclusions*, as the *Premisses* will very well bear.

Presb. I have heard indeed of several *Wild*, and *sensless Scruples* charg'd upon the *Independents*: As that they have made it a matter of *Religion* to *Piss abed*, and *ride Hobby-Horses*, because it is said, *Except ye become as little Children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, Matth. 18. 3.

Indep. Pray give me leave to requite You with three or four *Presbyterian Scruples*: out of *Bancrofts Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, page 368.

Move Mr. Cartwright, *and some other Our Reverend Brethren to deliver their Judgments*, Whether all laying out of Hair be forbidden to all Women: *especially at their Repair to the Publick Meetings of the Church?*

Pig to Field, 1586.

Ed. Brow. to Field.

A Question riseth in my Mind, Whether one that Professeth Christ truly, may, according to the same Profession, delight in, and use Hawking, and Hunting; *so no Unchristian*

chriſtian Behaviour otherwiſe be joyned therewith.

Let me know your Judgment particularly: Whether it be in any reſpect tolerable for Women, that profeſs Religion, and the Reformation, to Wear Dublets, Little Hats with Feathers: great Gowns after the French, and Outlandiſh Faſhion: Great Ruffes, and Hair, *either* Curled, *or* Friſled, *or ſet out upon* Wires, *and ſuch like Devices.* Walker to Field.

I would be glad to have your Judgment in the Fourth Commandment: *Whether the ſtrict Prohibition of* not kindling Fire on the Sabbath, *be of the Subſtance of the* Moral Precept. Cholm to Field.

In the ſame Author you will find a Catalogue of Pleaſant Names too. *The Lord is Near. More Tryal. Reformation. Diſcipline. Joy again. Sufficient. From above. Free Gifts. More Fruit. Duſt.* And in the next Page, he tells you of one *Snape* that proceeded toward the *Baptizing* of a Child, till they came to Name it, *Richard*, and then brake off, for fear it would not have prov'd a *Chriſtian*, if he had ſo Baptized it. Dangerous Poſitions, P. 104.

I cannot paſs from theſe Phantaſtical *Abſurdities* in your *Practiſes*, without ſome Reflection upon thoſe in your *Conſtitution*. To ſay nothing of your *Diſ-*

agreements

agreements among your selves, about your *Officers*, and *Discipline*. What can be more Ridiculous than to Authorize a *Cobler* to Correct *Majesty*, *Mechanicks* to Determine in *Points of Faith*? Are not your *Elders joyn'd in Commission with your Ministers, for the Examination of the Person that offers himself to the Ministry, in all the Chief Points in Controversie betwixt us and the* Papists, Anabaptists, Arrians, *&c*? Are not *the* Elders, *and* Deacons *fit Persons* (think ye) *to be made Judges of Theological* Niceties; *and to Admonish, and Reprove a Minister, that Propones not faithful* Doctrine? Has not your *General Assembly*, rather the *Face* of a *Council of State*, then of a *Counsel of the Church*? (And in Truth the *Business* too.) Behold the Composition (I beseech ye) of the Pretended *Assembly* at *Glesgow*, 1638. *Seven Earls, Ten Lords, Forty Gentlemen*, And *One and Fifty Burgesses*, to Determine of *Faith*, and *Church Censures*.

Book of Discipl. p. 28.

Ibid. 60.

Kings large Declaration, p. 315.

Now to take a Brief View of the whole. What greater *Slavery* in the world, can be imagined, then to live in Subjection to a Government; where you shall have, neither *Freedoms* of *Conscience*, *Law*, *Person*, or *Fortune*? Where you shall not *Speak*, *Look*, *Move*, *Eat*, *Drink*, *Dress your self*,

ſelf; Nay, not ſo much as entertein a *Thought*, but at your *Peril*? And to be in This Bondage too unto the *Meaneſt*, and moſt *Inſolent* of your *Fellows*? For none but ſuch will ever engage themſelves in the Exerciſe of ſo Inhumane a Tyranny. And for a further Aggravation of the *Shame*, and *Guilt* of the Faction: Let me deſire you, but to caſt an eye upon their Proceedings, under King *James* in *Scotland*, and here under Queen *Elizabeth*; where you ſhall find that they were never ſo Impetuous, and Bold, as when they found the *King*, and the *State* in Diſtreſs, upon the Apprehenſion of *Forreign Dangers*. And ſo for the *Queen*, upon the buſineſs of *Eighty Eight*: Whereas the *Independents* never ſo confined themſelves to the Proſecution of their *Private Intereſts*, as to Hazard the Betraying of their *Country* to *Forreigners*: And particularly, in the Late Engagements at Sea, againſt the *French*, and *Dutch*, many of them have given Signal Teſtimony, and Proof of their Fidelity, and Valour.

I ſhould not have Engroſs'd This whole Diſcourſe to my ſelf, but in Perſuance of a Point, wherein you have Confeſt beforehand, that you had nothing further to oppoſe: That is to ſay, Concerning the *Principles* of the Parties in Queſtion. Nei-

Neither is any thing I have hitherto deliver'd, to be taken as a *Challenge*, and *Claim* of a *Toleration*, of such a Quality, as to enter into a *Competition* with the *Peace* and *Security*, *of the Publique*: But This I premise my self, that if it shall appear reasonable to *Authority*, to allow of any *Relaxation*, The *Independents Plea*, upon all Considerations of Common *Equity*, and *Safety*, will stand good against That of the *Presbyterians*,

From whose *Triple-Crown'd Consistory*; that Lords it Over *Souls*, *Bodies*, and *Estates*; Over *Kings*, *Nobles*, and *Commons*; Over *Laws*, *Magistrates*, and all Sorts, and Ranks of *Men*, and *Interests*; That turns *Gospel* into *Law*; *Communities* into *Deserts*; *Men* into *Beasts*;

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

THE END.